

THE
DISCOURSES

1484 i 8

OF

CLEANDER



AND

EUDOXUS

UPON THE

PROVINCIAL LETTERS.

By a lover of Peace and Concord.

Translated out of a French
Copy.

by W. Darel 87.

Printed at Cullen MDCXCIV.
(St. Oners)

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VI. DISCOURSE.

TABLE
OF THE
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I. DISCOURSE.

THE subject and occasion of these Discourses. pag. 1.

II. DISCOURSE.

An examen of the Jesuits Policy, according to Pascal's systeme in the fifth Provincial Letter. pag. 27.

III. DISCOURSE.

Of the Doctrine of Probable Opinions. pag. 70.

IV. DISCOURSE.

About the same subject. pag. 123.

V. DISCOURSE.

An examen of the fourth and fifth Provincial Letters. pag. 171.

VI. DIS-

VI. DISCOURSE.

An examen of the first Provincial Letter, about the Purity of Language, style and rules of Dialogues, &c. pag. 232.

An examen of the sixth Provincial Letter.

VII. DISCOURSE.

An examen of the tenth Provincial Letter, concerning Pascals reproaching the Jesuits, for teaching that the Love of God is not necessary for Salvation. pag. 308.

Examen of the distinction between Probable in Practice, and Probable in Speculation; relating to the seventh, and thirteenth Provincial Letters. pag. 352.

Examen of the Doctrin concerning the direction of Intention, relating to the seventh Provincial Letter. pag. 369.

Examen of the Doctrin of Equivocations and Mental Reservations, relating to the ninth Provincial Letter. pag. 379.

T H E

Letter, e and 232. Letter.

THE DISCOURSE

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OF

Cleander and Eudoxus

UPON THE

PROVINCIAL LETTERS.

Letter, e di- o the 369. ation; to the 379.

The First Discourse.

TH E Character of the persons speaking in these Dialogues, as just and natural as it is, is not very common in this Age. They are two men perfectly neuters, in a controversy wherein the world is infinitely divided: their main care is, to watch against all prejudices, that might incline them more to one party, than to the other: And they continue in this right disposition of mind, in this evenness and equality of temper, till their own strict inquiries, sagacity and judgment, with an exact discussion of

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some decisive points of fact turn the scales, and determine them to joyn with those that have the truth on their side.

The matter before them is, what men ought to think of the Provincial Letters, that famous book so esteem'd, so decry'd; so commended, so detested; so useful to Christianity, say some; so pernicious and so scandalous say others. The subject well deserves attention: And that both the Jesuits and their Adversaries, and those also that have declar'd for, or against either party, shou'd interest themselves in the examination of an affair hitherto so little clear'd, or made plain.

Many men of great quality having, for some years past, made that which is to be the subject of these Dialogues, the subject of their conversations, I might have introduc'd, without any improbability, or injury to truth, real persons, whose names are equally known and illustrious; but the gust or relish of our age, in this very different from that of old Rome, and old Greece, where the *Crassus's*, the *Cicero's*, the *Socrates's*, and the very authors themselves under their own names us'd to be brought in speaking in such kind of works, obliges me to take another method: and therefore tho' they are the thoughts, reflexions, reasonings and decisions of Mr. and Mr. which are here set down, yet must it be under the names of *Cleander* and *Eudoxus*, that they are to be understood to speak.

A book publish'd three or four years ago was the occasion of their first discourse about the Provincial Letters: this book is call'd, *Le Parallele des Anciens & des Modernes*: but they were hinder'd, at it's first coming forth, from reading it, by a long voyage they had made out of the territories of France: as soon as they had read it throu', having made, as they went along, several reflexions according to their usual custom upon all new books, that are worth the while, Cleander put Eudoxus in mind of a passage, that had startled them, the discussion of which they had put off to the end, because it was like to be long, and that they had a mind, once for all, to satisfy themselves fully upon that chapter. It was the passage in the second tome, where the Provincial Letters are mention'd, and where all the persons in the Dialogue conspir'd to give those Letters the greatest commendation that ever was, or can be given of any work; here are the very words Mr. Perrault makes them speak.

The President.

"You see then that *Lucian* and *Cicero*, who you acknowledge are able men, have made Dialogues; what men of this age will you compare to them?"

The Abbat.

"I could compare with them many authors, who at this day are excellent in this way
A 2 " of

Parallele
des An-
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pag. 121.

“of writing. But I will content my self to
 “make one only enter the lists with them:
 “that is the illustrious Mr. *Pascal*, with his
 “eighteen Provincial Letters, which have been
 “read by a million of men without ever tire-
 “ing, I can assure you, any one of them,
 “but for a single moment.

The Knight.

“I have read them above ten times; and
 “notwithstanding my natural impatience, the
 “longest always pleas'd me most.

The Abbot.

“In the language there is nothing but pu-
 “rity, greatness in the thoughts, solidity in
 “the reasoning, finess in the raillery; and
 “all over such a grace as one shall hardly
 “find elsewhere.

The President.

“I own that these Letters are very pleasant
 “and diverting: but will you compare eighteen
 “small, loose, flying papers, with the Dia-
 “logues of *Plato*, *Lucian* and *Cicero*, which
 “make several great volumes?

The Abbot.

“The number or bigness of the volumes
 “signifies nothing; if in these eighteen Let-
 “ters there be more wit, than in all the
 “Dialogues of *Plato*; more neat and delicate
 “raillery, than in those of *Lucian*; but raillery
 “inoffensive,

The Provincial Letters.

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“ inoffensive, never transgressing the Rules of
“ decency and good manners; if there be more
“ strength and more art in his reasonings, than
“ in those of *Cicero* : lastly, if the art of
“ Dialogue be found there whole and intire,
“ ought not the smallness of the volume to
“ be a commendation rather than a reproach ?
“ to speak truth, we have nothing better in
“ this kind of writing ; have you read the
“ latin translation of them ?

The President.

“ I have, and it is very fine.

The Knight.

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“ Did it please you as much as the ori-
“ ginal ?

The President.

“ Full as much.

The Knight.

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sive,

“ I am very glad on't. You know that in
“ Greek *Lucians* Dialogues are admirably witty ;
“ but in *Ablancourts* translation, dull and insi-
“ pid: and as to the Provincial Letters you
“ say the French and Latin do equally divert
“ you. Confess that I have catch'd you nap-
“ ping in the point of prejudice or prepos-
“ session.

Most certainly, sayd *Eudoxus*, either this
encomium is excessive, or else this book is a
master-piece of the wit of man : for not

only the stile is pure, the thoughts noble, the reasoning solid, the raillery neat; but *There is nothing but exactness, greatness, solidity, wit and grace.* In one word, *All the art of Dialogue is there whole and intire.* They cannot more expressly free them from all sorts of faults, nor more fully include in them all manner of perfections. Mr. *Perrault's* Abbot has sometimes without doubt the faculty of tasting and judging well; I am only afraid for him and Mr. *Pascal* of hyperboles. That a million of men shou'd have read the *Provincial Letters*, is certainly one, answers *Cleander*, which our language allows him: for the arithmetic of Grammarians is not so exact nor so scrupulous, as that of merchants and bankers. But for that which he adds, that among this infinite number of readers not one was wearied, he ought at least to have excepted the Jesuits, who I am confident had no great pleasure in reading them.

Why so? replies *Eudoxus*: I have seen many of 'um, who told me they had found that book very agreeable and diverting: not indeed, that they believ'd all that was there set down was true: for they pretend that his *Railleries* always decent and civil, as Mr. *Perrault* stiles them, are gross and infamous calumnies: but yet, like men of wit they distinguish'd the turn and manner of expression, which pleas'd them, from the things themselves, which vex'd them.

That in good earnest is a pleasant fancy, and
I love

I love them for it, says *Cleander*, that while all the world is made merry at their cost, they themselves shou'd share in the diversion; after the example of *Socrates*, who laugh'd as well as the other spectators; at *Aristophanes's* Comedies, where he himself was play'd upon, and made the subject of the sport. And yet after all I believe if *Pascals* Letters had no other judges or approvers but these Fathers, they wou'd run a great risque of losing part of their reputation. For which reason I think we shou'd do well to take other rules for criticising on this occasion: and that, generally speaking, the best that we can follow, in examining the works of *Pascal* and his friends, and in examining the Jesuits books, is not to give too much credit either to the one or to the other. There is good reason for exceptions against both; and more especially in the affair in hand, rather than any other. This is like one of those knotty suites in law, wherein, by the number of justifications, recriminations, replys, and rejoinders, there appears nothing cleer of either side. The public was never more divided: half the world have declar'd that the Jesuits are guilty of loose morals: the other half look upon the Jansenists as detractors and calumniators, for decrying so considerable a body of the church, in revenge to the zeal they have shewn against their novelties and their errors. Those who have only read the *Provincial Letters* are of the first opinion:

those that have read but the Jesuits answers are of the other; but for my part, who have read both, I know not yet what to think. Let us begin there, if you please: this is the chief point, or almost the only one we have to examin: for as to the politeness, the elegance, the wit and the purity of the language, I believe we shall both be of Mr. *Perrault's* opinion.

What, says *Eudoxus*, briskly interrupting him, I am not at all satisfi'd with you, at the very moment you caution against prejudice, and shew the evil of it, do you your self give into it; and immediately, without hesitation, subscribe to the most extraordinary panegyric that ever was made of any book written in our language? the greater, the more pompous, and the more unrestrain'd the commendation is, the more it ought to be suspected: and I do own, that it wou'd be a sensible pleasure to me, to find some spots in this Sun, which they wou'd have me look upon as the pure fountain of light.

When the prepossession becomes general, replys *Cleander*, it ought no longer to pass under that name; at lest in the ill signification which is commonly given to the word. There is nothing but truth, evident truth, that can make it's way throu', and be acceptable to all the world. And you your self do agree with me, that there are none, not excepting even the Jesuits, that do not do *Pascal* justice; upon the point, wherein I desire your concurrence. The

The maxim you advance, answers *Eudoxus*, how true and general soever it may seem, admits of some exceptions, most especially in works of the understanding. I allow that no book could ever have an universal and constant approbation, which was not extremely well writ. The case of that, and of the Preachers of the Court and of the City, is one and the same: a talent that is but common and indifferent, by whatever faction or party it may happen to be cry'd up and supported, will most certainly, early or late, fall to the ground: on the contrary, a vogue or reputation, follow'd with a crowd of hearers, and increasing, instead of diminishing, with the length of time, is a manifest conviction of an extraordinary merit, but as there are several degrees of excellence, I presume that a work, excellent in the main, being once suppos'd to be such, may afterwards, by the strength and power of prejudice and prepossession, pass for most excellent and incomparable. How many old authors are there, whose very faults are esteem'd, and even their negligences admir'd rather than censur'd? has not this been observ'd by our author of the *Parallele des Anciens & des Modernes*, and by some critics a little bolder than the rest? and how do we know that this is not the good fortune of the Provincial Letters, and that Mr. *Pascal* being once allow'd to write well, and that in his work there was art, close transitions, neat expressions, a great deal of wit, and a great deal

deal of ornament, men took not up an opinion, That there is nothing but purity in the language, nobleness in the thoughts, finess in the railleries, and all over such a grace as is hardly to be found elsewhere: that the art of Dialogue is there preserv'd whole and intire; and that there is nothing better extant in this kind of writing. Indeed I wou'd not willingly ingage my self to shew you faults in every page, nor make a list of all his ill expressions, as long as that which the author *Des entretiens d'Ariste & d'Eugene*, sometimes since made, of those found in the translation of *Thomas à Kempis De l'imitation de Jesus Christ*; another pretended master-piece, every where preach'd up for a model of the purity of our language; but perhaps as we go along I may find enuff to make you abate somewhat, in these very points, of the high thoughts you have of these Letters.

You could not do me a greater pleasure, replys *Cleander*, and I freely confess the fault I have committed against our main maxim; and to make use of the author of the *Parallel's* expression, in the passage we have just now read, you have surpris'd me *In the very fact*.

It is so natural, says *Eudoxus*, to suffer our selves to be carry'd away with the stream, that it is not without much difficulty and reflexion, that we can master our inclinations to rash judgment; we are naturally prone to judge of every thing, and at the same time

to

to hate that application which is necessary to do it well; and so fond are we of truth, that we immediately leap at, and almost never fail to take any thing for truth, which has but the least shadow or appearance of it. But you must know, that there never were more cunning contrivances, nor more traps lay'd to catch men, than there have been in this very matter; both sides cry out, have a care of prejudices, judge of the things only by pure reason, by experience, and the matters of fact.

"My dear reader, says *Wendrock*, in the "preface to his latin translation of the Provincial Letters; I beg the favor of you that "you wou'd come prepar'd to read this book "with a pure and unprejudic'd mind; and to "judge of it rather by your own insight and "reason, than by the knowledge and understanding of any other; give me leave only "to advertise you, that, in case you have suffer'd your self to be prepossess'd against these "Letters, by the clamors of the Jesuits, it is "but just, that before you begin them, you "shou'd lay aside all your prejudices, as every "prudent reader ought to do.

On the other hand, the Jesuits Apologist crys as loud as he can in his readers ear. "My dear reader, let not the writer of these "Letters surprize you; or if he has already "done it, let him no longer abuse your credulity; which advice I think my self oblig'd "to give you.

That

That is to say, says *Cleander* interrupting him, that both sides, by much exclaiming and advising against prejudices, do all they can to fill us with prepossessions; and by seeming to give us an antidote against poison, endeavour to make us swallow the poison it self.

Very right, answers *Eudoxus*, and in such occasions as these both parties seldom fail of gaining their ends, when either of them is heard without the other.

But I foresee, says *Cleander*, that to judge of the present matter, with that equity, and exactness you pretend, we shall have need of more than one Library. For I have not in mine, nor I fancy have you in yours, *Escobar*, *Fagundez*, *Della-Cruz*, *Vera-Cruz* and all the rest, whose very names so frighten'd *Montaltius*, that he had much a do to believe they were Christians.

We shall have no want of that, answers *Eudoxus*, I have a friend, a Jansenist, who has all the Casuists of the Society, and who will be delighted to shew them to us. But I do not believe we ought to begin there: before we come to the discussion of the passages in the Jesuit Divines, there are some general points, upon which we may argue without the help of a library. One of which, is *Pascal's* System of the Jesuits policy, to make themselves masters of the people's consciences, not for the greater glory of God, but for the greater glory of the Society. It is an article of large extent, and many things depend

pend upon it: and in the Provincial Letters great care is taken, that the readers shou'd never lose it quite out of sight: and if we take *Wendroks* word, this is properly the business, and the subject matter of these Letters: this you may see by the title he has given his latin translation. * *Ludovici Montaltij Litteræ Provinciales, de morali & politicâ Jesuitarum disciplina.* Let us, I pray you, this week, read with care and attention the Provincial Letters, and the Jesuits answers, and every thing relating to this subject; that we may afterwards communicate our reflexions to one another; which done, we will, if you please, descend to particulars; to the end that once for all, we may choole our sides. With all my heart, says *Cleander*, and you may depend upon it, that I will do it with all possible exactness, and all the care imaginable.

* Lewis Montalt's Provincial Letters, of the Jesuits moral and political doctrine.

It must be acknowledg'd, answers *Eudoxus*, that these Letters have given the Jesuits reputation a terrible wound; and that they have debauch'd and drawn away from them a vast number of their friends, in Court, City and Country. Nor has any thing more increas'd the number of their adversaries: never was there a diversion made to better purpose, nor with greater effect than this. That book alone has made more Jansenists, than *Jansenius's Augustinus*, and all Mr. *Arnauld's* books together.

This book has yet done more, adds *Cleander*; it has made in France a kind of a third party, which shall be mine, in case *Montaltius* be

be not found to impose upon the Jesuits : it is of those, who abhorring novelties in the dispute of Grace, and in all other controverted points, submit themselves sincerely to the Church, without wrangling by the unsincere distinction of Fact and Right; and who likewise cannot bear the relaxation of morals, wherewith the Jesuits are reproach'd: and upon my word this party is almost as numerous as the other two.

Without doubt it ought to be very numerous, says *Eudoxus*, and I look upon it to be somewhat like that, which was in France in the beginning of Henry the IV's. Reign, whilst he continu'd a Hugonot. The Zeal of Religion on one side, and the unjust pretensions of the Leaguers on the other, made an infinity of persons stand neutrers, and hinder'd them from declaring either for the League, or for the King, before he imbrac'd the Religion of his Ancestors. But I much doubt whether the conversion of the Jesuits wou'd have as good an effect for them, as that of the King had for himself; and whether their innocence, if fully clear'd, wou'd wholly turn that party to their side. The indifferent, and the well minded honest people wou'd do them justice: but how many are there who follow this third party, either because they were not consider'd, nor courted by the Jansenists, nor by the Jesuits; or because, how nice soever they are about the article of faith, they are not so in the article of charity?

How

How many think you are there, who without examining, as exactly as we intend to do, the accusations against the Jesuits, have no other ground, nor other reason for the disadvantageous judgments they pass upon their doctrine, but the authority of the Provincial Letters; or the authority of some persons, who have taken no more pains than they, to inform themselves of the truth? how few in the world have taken care to defend themselves from being surpriz'd in this matter, either by reading the Jesuits answers, which they have not so much as look'd into; or by examining and comparing the passages, which these Fathers maintain were alter'd, mangled and transpos'd; or by certain reflexions natural enough, which ought to have hinder'd them from precipitating their judgment, in things of this nature and importance? believe me, that men, who in the same kind of offices and employments emulate or strive to outdo each other, men who in the Schools maintain and defend contrary opinions, and men who being of the same community or society, do greatly love it's fame and reputation, and wish it might out-shine and excel all others, are very prone to pass a rash judgment on the affairs of such, as may stand in their way, and give them any jealousy, or obstruct their glory or advancement. They are neither the rules of prudence, nor of the strictest morals which are then always follow'd: but however it be, the Jesuits will for a long time, feel the effects

effects of the blow the Jansenists have given them.

It is certain, answers *Cleander*, that the Gentlemen of *Port-Royal* shew'd themselves Masters in the art of policy and cunning: they were very near their ruin; the doctrine of *Jansenius* had been condemn'd at *Rome*; the condemnation receiv'd with all possible submission, not only in *France*, but likewise over all the Catholic Church; and the King, by an express Declaration, directed to all the Prelats of the Kingdom, had commanded the publication and execution of it: he had sent the Popes Decree to the *Paris Divines* in *Sorbonne*, and an order in writing by *Mr. de la Mothe Hodencourt*, the then Bishop of *Rennes*, that they shou'd take care, for the time to come, that nothing, tho' never so little deviating from this rule of Faith, shou'd be taught or advanc'd, either in Theses or Lessons by the Doctors or Batchelers of their Society. Upon this order, they made a decree, prohibiting all Doctors and Batchelers from teaching or defending any of the propositions condemn'd, upon pain of being expell'd the University. The Clergy of *France*, then assembled at *Paris*, had written to Pope *Innocent* the X. upon the conclusion of this important affair, Letters of thanks and congratulation, signed by Cardinal *Mazarin* and all the other Prelats. The distinction of Fact and Right, which seem'd to be the parties last ressource, was, sometimes after, detested, by another Assembly
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of the Clergy, as a wicked evasion, and pernicious artifice of the *Port-Royal's*, to re-establish, insensibly, their errors. Nor could there possibly be any thing better done, to confound and break all this party's measures, than the circular Letter written, upon this occasion, by the Bishops of this Assembly, to all the rest of the Bishops of the Kingdom; and their Letter, which, presently after, they sent to the Pope, to acquaint his Holiness with this new difficulty and contrivance.

Mr. *Arnauld's* proposition, *That the Gospel points us out a just Man in the person of Saint Peter, who upon an occasion wanted Grace, where- in it cannot be sayd that he did not Sin:* after several consultations in *Sorbonne*, was condemn'd and declar'd rash, wicked, blasphemous, already anathematiz'd and heretical: he himself turn'd out of *Sorbonne*, with disgrace, his name blotted out of the Catalogue of Doctors, and by the same decree, all that shou'd come into their assemblies, and all the Batchelers, that, for the future, shou'd hold Divinity acts, were oblig'd to subscribe to this censure and condemnation. In a word, there never was any party more scurvily handled and run down, than this was, both by the Ecclesiastic, and by the Secular powers. When these cunning men, all on a sudden, altering the Scene chang'd the whole face of things; and at the same time that some pittied, others blam'd, and not a few affronted them, and rejoyc'd at their condition, they fell upon acting a Comedy, that made the Specta-

tors forget all that had newly past; they started a fresh game, and put a tric upon the Public almost without their perceiving it; and made them hunt the Jesuits, upon whom turning short they fell with violence, fury and cunning; having at first made a shew, as if their design had been to run down the *Sorbonne*; they put them upon the defensive, and push'd them home so briskly, that they got ground, and gain'd the applauses of many, who a little before had no thoughts for them, but of rage and indignation. Infine many, after they had, for some time, look'd upon them as corrupters of the faith, were insensibly drawn in, to consider them as the great defenders and restorers of Christian Morals, and the disciplin of the Church.

As, far as I perceive, replies *Eudoxus*, you are well instructed in this history.

I was that year at *Paris*, answers *Cleander*, where I finish'd my Studies in the Law. I had some friends among both parties, which made me improve, more then ever, the curiosity I always had to know what passes in such kind of disputes. I knew a great deal of the intrigues of both sides, and I cou'd at that time have written admirably well the history of *Jansenisme*.

Since it is so, sayd *Eudoxus*, recollect I pray you the particular history at least of the Provincial Letters, and tell me all the circumstances of that whole affair. This perhaps may not be un-
useful towards instructing us in the cause now in hand. With all my heart, answers *Cleander*, I
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remember them very well, and can satisfy you immediately.

Mr. Arnould perceiv'd, that all the serious Apologies he cou'd make for *Jansenius* and himself, cou'd never miss of being seriously examin'd; he was likewise well satisfi'd, whatever good opinion he had of his own abilities, that having the Pope upon his back, the King, the Chancellor of *France*, the Assemblies of the Clergy, the *Sorbonne*, all the Universities, and all the Communities (for *Jansenisme* was every where anathematiz'd) he cou'd not be long able to support the cause. It is hard for a man to have so many accusers, to except against so many judges, to lose his cause in so many Courts, and yet all this notwithstanding to persuade the world that he is still innocent. Being then upon the very point of falling into a more grievous misfortune than ever he had met in all his life, that is, of being driven out of the *Sorbonne*, with the qualities of a dangerous fellow, a disturber of the public, an opiniator and a heretic, he fram'd a design, not to put by the blow, this he saw was unavoidable, but to make it matter of sport to himself and friends; and to contrive things so, that the public might laugh at it; in hopes that the people weary of the difficult questions, which, for a long time, had busied the *Sorbonne*, they might perhaps willingly take that occasion to divert themselves; and that then possibly the farce might blot out all the impressions the precedent serious Scene had left. And this it was, that occasion'd the publishing of

the first Letter to the Provincial: who was not a Jack of Lent, a man in the clouds, as many believ'd, but a real person Mr. *Perier* by name, Counsellor in the Court of Exchequer at *Clermont* in *Auvergne*.

I know what he was, says *Eudoxus* interrupting him, it was he, that made the famous experiment of the quicksilver upon the Mountain *Puy de Damme*, at the entreaty of his brother-in-law Mr. *Pascal*.

The very same, answers *Cleander*; but altho there are eighteen Letters, under the title of Letters to one in the country, and which at this day pass under the name of Mr. *Pascal*, yet were they not all written to that one and the same man: nor is it certain, as some will have it, that they were all writ by Mr. *Pascal*. You your self may remember, that only the first ten are directed to the Country Gentleman. The six which next follow, were written to the Reverend Fathers the Jesuits, and the two last to Father *Annat*.

I know that, says *Eudoxus*, but I am surpriz'd at what you tell me, that it is not certain, that all the eighteen Letters are Mr. *Pascal*'s. You see that Mr. *Perrault*, in his Dialogues, makes him the author of them all without any exception. It is, says he, the illustrious Mr. *Pascal* with his eighteen Provincial Letters. And he that writes the seventeenth Letter declares himself the author of the preceding sixteen. *Wendrok* also in his latin translation seems, every where to suppose, they were all the products
of

of one pen; what then can make you doubt it?

I have seen, answer'd *Cleander*, some Manuscript memoirs, by which it appears, that the three first Letters were Mr. *Arnauld's*; and where it is also added, that this Doctor having sent them to Mr. *Pascal*, tho' at that time there was some little misunderstanding between them, Mr. *Pascal* judg'd it not advantagious, to carry on the raillery farther in such abstracted subjects, as were treated of in those Letters: that in order to engage, or amuse the public, it was necessary to find something more material, and more intelligible: that the Casuists decisions, was a much fitter subject for such kind of pleasantries, and that it was not difficult, to expole and bring them into play. Whereupon he propos'd to him, in general, a Scheme how the work might be carried on: which was so very pleasing to Mr. *Arnauld*, and all the *Port-Royal*, that they wholly left to him their interests, as well the manner and conduct, as the execution of this affair: so that in a little time after, that is to say, about the end of *February* 1656, the fourth Letter under the former title appear'd; which was the first of *Pascal's*, according to this account, which I will not warrant, considering the testimonies you have produc'd, of Mr. *Perrault*, of *Wendrok*, that is to say, of Mr. *Nicole*, and of the seventeenth Letter. And indeed the very stile of the three first Letters determines me to follow the common opinion: for there is in them too much lightness and humor, to come

from Mr. *Amauld*, and too much gall and bitterness, to fall from the pen of this Doctor.

However it be, it is also pretended, that notwithstanding the great success of this fourth Letter, the Knight of *Mere* advis'd *Pascal* to lay aside absolutely the matter of Grace, which was also handled in this, altho in reference to *Morals*, and to give himself a greater latitude, than that subject wou'd allow of: an advice, which he willingly follow'd to the Jesuits cost; whom he made answerable, in spite of all they cou'd say in their own defence, for the most odious and most extravagant things in point of *Morals*, contain'd in the Satyr against the *Casuits*.

These indeed are considerable particularities, says *Eudoxus*, and of which very few are inform'd. I have yet more curious and more certain ones to acquaint you with, continues *Cleander*, you know what our writers of Comedies do commonly practise, before they expose their works to the judgment of the Public; they have their friends and approvers, who are sure to cry them up; among whom there is, commonly, some Lady of the first rank for wit and quality, who takes upon herself the fate and setting off of the play: and points out before hand to her friends, all the several places they are to clap and admire. It was concluded very fit and convenient, not to neglect this innocent kind of artifice, to help forward the success of the Provincial Letters. *Nevers* house, now the Pallace of *Conti*, was

was then the meeting place of the wittiest persons and the most accomplish'd in *Paris*, invited thither, by the extraordinary civility, genteelness and magnificence of *Madam du Plessis Guenegaud* the Secretary of State's Lady. The Gentlemen of *Port-Royal*, with whom this Lady entertain'd a great correspondence, pitch'd upon her to bring the Provincial Letters into reputation, even before they were publish'd. Those who oftenest waited upon her, were the Abbot of who at that time was very remarkable for his wit and merits, but yet had not then thought of writing a book *Of the duties of a Monastic Life*. Mr. and Mr. both afterwards Counsellors of State, and famous for their superintendencies, and their Ambassys. Mr. then a Hugenor, *Jouquet* the superintendent's favorit, and some others. To these she read the sixth Letter, which had been sent to her in manuscript, and did not forget as they came in her way, to make them take notice of all the excellencies she her self had before observ'd in it.

You will easily believe, that these Gentlemen did not refuse to give in their suffrages, not one of them was wanting in his duty on this occasion. The praises they every where gave this Letter made all the world impatient to see so great a master-piece; which soon after appear'd; and from *Paris* quickly spread it self over all the Provinces of the Kingdom; where it made such a clutter, such a hurly burly as put the Fathers of the Society into no small consternation.

The Post never had so good a time on't; sayd *Eudoxus* interrupting him: copies of it were sent to all the Cities of *France*: and altho I was very little known to the Gentlemen of *Port-Royal*, I receiv'd from them a great packet, post paid, in a City of *Britany* where I then was. I imparted the contents to my friends, and we read the Letter with a great deal of pleasure.

They took almost the same method for the following Letters, answers *Cleander*; the seventh by that means, got as far as into Cardinal *Mazarin's* hands, who, as all others did, laugh'd at it very heartily. The eighth came not out till the following month, on purpose, it seems, to have it wish'd for: for every thing relating to this matter seem'd to be carried on with great art, care and circumspection. Very few knew for certain the hand from whence these Letters came: all others did but guess at the Author. The honor of them was given to *Mr. de Gomberville*, and this report was spread all over *Paris*: but he freed himself from it, by a letter he writ to his friend, *Father Castillon*, at that time, Rector of the *Jesuits College*.

In the mean time this mighty success did not hinder a great many, after their sport and fit of laughter was over, from making some very serious reflexions; nor from being scandaliz'd at the outrageous manner wherein the *Jesuits* were rail'd at, and the reputation of a Society torn to pieces, which till then had not

not only pass'd for men of exemplary lives and good manners, but also of eminent and orthodox learning. The very Marchioness of *Sablé* thò at that time very much in the interests of the *Port-Royal*, cou'd not one day refrain from asking *Pascal*, if he were very certain that all he had written in his Letters was true: for if all there sayd be not true, with what conscience, says she, can you publish them, and every where decry so considerable a body as that of the Jesuits? *Pascal* answer'd her, that it was their business who furnish'd him with the memoirs to take care of that, and not his, who did but order and put them together.

I know this particular point to be true, continues *Cleander*, from two very worthy persons of good credit to whom the Marchioness of *Sablé* her self recounted it, more then once, in the later years of her life.

It seems to me, sayd *Eudoxus*, that in reality *Pascal* did not act very conformably to the principles of severe Morals: nor do I know, that he cou'd find any one, in those principles he calls loose or relax'd, which, in an affair of this nature, wou'd have allow'd him to depend upon, or govern himself, by the eyesight and fidelity of another: especially knowing full well, that those, who gave him the papers, were declar'd enemies to the Jesuits.

As to the rest, answer'd *Cleander*, after the tenth, the following Letters were not altogether pure attacks: for by this time *Pascal* was oblig'd

oblig'd to put himself upon the defensive: because the Jesuits pretended, they had convinc'd the *Port-Royal* of a great number of falsifications and impostures, upon which, it wou'd not have consisted with their honor, to have been altogether silent. Mr. *Nicole*, under the name of *Wendrok*, soon after runs in, to their succor, or rather was put on, or let loose by the party, to finish and compleat the ruin and defeat of the Jesuits. He begun, in a very loud and high tone, the latin commentaries, which he added to his translation of the *Provincial Letters*; and in them treats the Jesuits like a company of sad and miserable wretches. In a word; the whole contrivance succeeded, even beyond the contrivers own expectations. And thus you have a brief account of all I know, concerning the history of the *Provincial Letters*: of which, nothing more was at that time farther sayd.

Cleander took his leave of *Eudoxus*, and they did not, as they had agreed, begin to speak any more of them for some days after; that they might have time to read over, and consider what had been written, on both sides, upon the subject of the *Jesuits Morals*.

The

The Second Discourse.

Cleander being come to Eudoxus's house, to begin their Discourses touching the matter propos'd, found him in his Closet, still busied in turning over several books, for and against the Jesuits; wherein he had made a great many remarks, and layd them altogether upon his table. Ho then sayd he coming in, what think you now of the Jesuits politics, and the reflexions *Pascal* has made upon this article? have you at last found the first part of *Mr. Perrault's* panegyric of the Provincial Letters true? *Is there nothing but solidity in his reasonings?* for this is a point of reasoning: and it is an effect of *Mr. Pascal's* sagacity, to have discover'd mysteries till then so cunningly conceal'd: it is also much for his honor, that he has open'd the eyes of the world, in a matter of so great importance.

Several things, says *Cleander*, make me suspect this System: it is indeed a System, as you very well call it: the question is, whether what he has there asserted, be solidly and strongly prov'd and made out; or whether, at the bottom, it be nothing but a pure hypothesis; which being propos'd in a plausible manner, made the reader at first sight say, that this might very well be: and which being continued, and always supported, by the same kind of artifice, do's so manage the understanding, that he is at last persuaded, it is a most certain truth. This,

This, in reality, is the main point of the difficulty, answer'd *Eudoxus*, and nothing could be better stated. But let us look into the book: it is at the beginning of the fifth Letter, that *Pascal* lays open the policy and mysteries of the Jesuits: out of which *Cleander* read these words.

"See here Sir what I promis'd you: these
 "are the first draughts of the good Fathers,
 "the Jesuits Morals: of those eminent men,
 "for learning and wisdom, who are all guided
 "by the Spirit of God, which is more cer-
 "tain then all Philosophy; perhaps you think
 "I am in jest: but I speak seriously, or ra-
 "ther, it is they themselves that speak in their
 "book, intituled *Imago primi saculi*; I do but
 "copy their own words in this part of the
 "encomium, as well as in that which follows.
 "It is a society of men, or rather of Angels,
 "who were foretold by *Isaias* in these words,
 "*Go forth you Angels light and nimble*. Is not
 "this a very clear prophecy of them? they
 "are the Spirits of Eagles, a company of
 "Phenixes, for an author has lately discover'd,
 "that there are more birds of this kind, than
 "one, at a time: they have chang'd the
 "whole face of Christianity: you must needs
 "believe it, since they themselves affirm it;
 "and you will quickly perceive it, by the
 "sequel of this discourse, which will inform
 "you of their maxims. I was very desirous to
 "be fully instructed in them; and wou'd not
 "trust to what my friend had sayd of them,
 "but

“but resolv’d to see them with my own eyes;
“but I found he had told me nothing but
“truth: I believe he never tells a lye: you
“will see that by the account of our confer-
“ences. In one that I had with him, he
“told me such strange things, that I cou’d
“hardly believe them; but he shew’d them
“in these Fathers own books: insomuch that
“I had nothing to say in their defence, but
“that they were the opinions of some of their
“particular Divines, and therefore that it was
“unjust, to impute them to the whole body:
“and I assur’d him, I knew some of ’um, as
“severe, as those he had quoted were loose
“and remiss. Hereupon he discover’d to me
“the Spirit of the Society, which is not
“known to all the world: and perhaps you
“will be very glad to understand it, which
“take in these his own words.

“You think, sayd he, to do them a great
“favor, by shewing that some of their Fathers,
“are, as conformable to the maxims of the
“Gospel, as others, of them, are the con-
“trary: and thence you will conclude, that
“the large opinions are not to be charg’d up-
“on the whole Society. I understand you
“very well, for if they were to be charg’d up-
“on the whole, they wou’d never have suf-
“fer’d, that any of their Society shou’d have
“publish’d so different opinions. But since
“they have also some among them, who main-
“tain licentious doctrins, you ought likewise
“to conclude, that the doctrin of the whole
“Society

"Society is not that which is strictly Christian :
 "for if that consequence were to be made ,
 "they wou'd never have tolerated such loose
 "opinions in any of their Fathers. And what,
 "answer'd I, cou'd then be the design of the
 "whole body? it is without doubt that they
 "have no certain form'd design , and that
 "every one has the liberty to say, at all ad-
 "ventures, whatever he thinks upon any sub-
 "ject. That cannot be , answer'd he : so
 "great a body cou'd not subsist, by so rash
 "and inconsiderate a conduct ; nor without
 "a Soul, that directs and governs all it's mo-
 "tions. Besides that, they have an order to
 "print nothing, without the approbation of
 "their Superiors. But how, sayd I, can those
 "very Superiors consent, to Maxims so very
 "different? That is, reply'd he, what I wou'd
 "have you understand. Know then, that their
 "intention, is not, to corrupt mens manners;
 "no, no, that is not their design : but neither
 "is the reformation of them, their only aim :
 "that wou'd be a piece of bad policy : but
 "you may see what their thoughts are. They
 "have so good an opinion of themselves, as
 "to believe, that it is both useful and neces-
 "sary for the good of Religion, that their
 "credit shou'd reach every where , and that
 "they shou'd govern all mens consciences :
 "and because the Gospel and severe Maxims
 "are proper for some sort of persons, they
 "make use of them , as oft as occasion re-
 "quires. But because these Maxims do not
 "agree

“agree with the design of the greatest number
“of men, they lay them aside, when they
“have to do with any of this last sort; that
“they may have wherewithal to please and sa-
“tisfie all the world. For this reason, having
“to do with persons of all sorts; of different
“tempers, conditions, and countries, they
“judg’d it necessary, to have Casuists suited
“to this great diversity. From this principle,
“you’ll easily judge, that if they had no others,
“but Casuists of loose Morals, they wou’d ruin
“their chief design; which is to get all the
“world into their own conduct and manage-
“ment; because, that those, who are truly
“pious and devout, wou’d endeavor to seek
“and find out a more certain way. But since
“there are but a few of this sort, they do not
“need many severe Directors to guide them:
“they have a few severe ones, for the few
“devout; but a vast number of the loose ones
“for the croud and multitude of those that seek
“for relaxation.

“It is by this obliging and accommodating
“conduct, as Father *Petavius* calls it, that they
“open their arms to all the world: for if any
“one comes to ’um, who is resolv’d to restore
“his ill gotten goods, you need not fear that
“they will put him by. On the contrary, they
“will commend and confirm him in so holy a
“resolution: but if another comes, that wou’d
“have absolution without restitution; it will be
“hard, if they do not find means to do it,
“which they themselves will warrant. By this
“course

"course they keep all their friends, and secur'd
 "themselves against their enemies: for if they
 "be reproach'd, with the looseness of their
 "Morals, they immediatly produce their au-
 "stere Directors, together with some books
 "they have made of the rigor and severity of
 "the Christian law: and the simple people,
 "and such as do not look into the bottom,
 "the depth of things, are contented and put
 "off with these kind of proofs.

"Thus they are furnish'd for all sorts of per-
 "sons, and answer so well, according to what
 "is demanded, that when they are in Coun-
 "tries, where a Crucifi'd God passes for folly,
 "they suppress the scandal of the Cross, and
 "preach Jesus Christ a glorious, not a suffer-
 "ing Savior; as they have done in the *Indies*
 "and in *China*; where, they have allow'd
 "Christians, even the practice of Idolatry, by
 "the subtil invention of making them hide
 "under their cloaths the Image of Jesus Christ;
 "to which they teach them to direct, men-
 "tally, the public adorations, which they make
 "to the Idol *Chacim-choan*, and to their *Keum-*
 "*fucum*; as *Gravina* the Dominican objects
 "against them, and as the *Spanish* Memorial
 "presented to *Philip* the IV King of *Spain*,
 "by the *Franciscans* of the *Philippine* Islands,
 "reported by *Thomas Hurvado* in his book of
 "Christian Martyrs page 427, do's witness: in-
 "somuch that the Congregation of Cardinals,
 "*De propaganda fide* was oblig'd to forbid the
 "Jesuits, in particular, under pain of excom-
 "munication,

“munication, not to suffer the adoration of
 “Idols upon any pretext whatsoever; nor to
 “hide the mystery of the holy Cross from
 “those they instructed in Religion: Com-
 “manding them, expressly, not to Baptise
 “any that were ignorant in this point; and
 “injoyning them, to expose openly in their
 “Churches the Image of the Crucifix; as is
 “at large set down in the decree of this Con-
 “gregation dated 9th. July 1646, sign’d by
 “Cardinal Caponi. You see now, how they
 “have spread themselves over all the earth, by
 “the help of the doctrin of probable opinions,
 “which is the spring and ground of all this
 “irregularity and corruption.

It cannot but be acknowledg’d, sayd *Eudoxus*,
 crying out as soon as he had done reading,
 that all this is admirably well sayd. These
 little bits of *Imago primi saculi*, are well
 brought in, and apply’d the best in the
 World: that plain short stile he begins with;
 those little jesting reflexions, in two words,
 by way of parenthesis; *Is it not a clear Pro-*
phesy of them I believe he never tells a ly;
 are, at once, both enlivening and diverting.
 In that natural plain way of relating a thing,
 that cunning artifice to prepare the readers
 mind, by finding ways to remove all obstacles,
 which might hinder what one is about to say
 from being believ’d; there is not a word,
 that do’s not answer his end, and serve to dis-
 arm the Jesuits before hand. This particular
 fact, of the Idolatry in *China*, mention’d as it
 C were

were but by accident, or by the by, and, without any seeming affectation, recounted in few words, but yet without omitting one single circumstance that might contribute to it's being believ'd as soon as spoken.

It's no small prejudice to the Jesuits, sayd *Cleander* interrupting him, that they do not own this thing, and that they pretend to have undeniably refus'd the imposture. That's no matter, pursued *Eudoxus*: I find my self persuaded by this, almost in spite of me; and I am of opinion, that a great many others ought to be so too. But observe how *Pascal*, in a few pages, has compris'd and prepar'd all that was necessary for his chief design; which is to make all the Jesuits writers faults and mistakes to light upon, and be imputed to the whole body: say what you please, this is a bit they cannot swallow or digest; this little piece, this particular instance, is not to be answer'd. As to the rest, continues he, let that go for nothing: For I see you ready, in your turn, to accule me of being prepossess'd in favor of *Pascal*: all that I pretend to say, is, that he has given this passage a delicat turn; express'd it so very finely, that nothing cou'd be more persuasive, or at least more seducing.

Whatever you wou'd say of it, answer'd *Cleander*, I see plainly, that the Jesuits are not very safe in your hands: and that without any great force upon your self, you cou'd stand up stiffly in defence of what I have just now read to you; in case you shou'd not see it fully and perfectly refuted. Not

Not so fast, reply'd *Eudoxus*, do not I pray distrust my equity. I have newly vow'd, to be indifferent and stand neuter, between both parties, and nothing is able so to dazzle me, as to make me mistake the truth. 'Tis with the same disposition of mind, answer'd *Cleander*, that I am resolv'd to tell you, plainly, and without exaggeration, what may be sayd in favor of the Society.

The end and policy of the Jesuits, sayd he, is, to make themselves Masters of all mens Consciences; now there are two sorts of Christians; some that are truly pious, who seek for a sure way; for whom the Jesuits have taken care to have some severe Casuists; but a few for the few; whereas they have a multitude of loose Casuists, who present themselves to the multitude of those that seek for liberty and relaxation. Then he adds: See how they have spread themselves over all the earth, by the favor and assistance of the doctrin of probability, which is the source and basis of all this irregularity and corruption.

You might have added the direction of intention, sayd *Eudoxus* interrupting him, together with the doctrin of equivocations: for these also, as *Pascal* tells us, are main points of the Jesuits Morals.

That's true, reply'd *Cleander*, but these points, as great and general as they are, may be look'd upon, but as particular points, which we may examin at leisure: and it seems to me, that, for the present, we ought to dive and sift into nothing but their politics: the wonderful intelligence they have among them-

selves for one and the same end; and which makes them, by concert and contrivance, act, so effectually, for the glory and grandeur of their Society: and the admirable partition of the rigorous and the relax'd doctrin between their Doctors; of whom, some are enjoyn'd to make the best of the first, and others of the second: all aiming, tho' by so contrary means, *By the favor and assistance of the doctrin of probable opinions*, at one and the same end. To have discover'd this, if you believe *Pascal*, *Is, to have found out the Spirit of the Society, which is not known to all the world.* This is, in reality, the most curious part of this whole affair: and if the discovery of the partition be real and not chimerical, if this particular, single point, be very certain, all that he afterwards says of the Jesuits, may very well be believ'd. I shou'd be no longer shock'd or offended at *Wendrock's* invectives against these Fathers, nor at the horrible injuries, wherewith he treats and oppresses them. But I declare to you, that I cannot easily conceive, nor seriously believe, that such a project cou'd have been form'd, or carry'd on so long; that is to say till *Pascal's* time, or at least till the birth, or springing up of Jansenisme, without any body's perceiving it; or that, during all the wars and disputes the Protestants have had with the Doctors of the Church of *Rome*, and wherein the Jesuits were always the first assaulted, not one of their obstinat enemies, shou'd have thought of attaching them on that side: and

and that a thousand men shou'd have let themselves, industriously, to examin, to meditate, to criticize upon, to decry their institute, to study their conduct, and to search into the secrets of their pretended politics, and yet not to make this discovery, is a thing, which, really appears to me, incredible, and morally impossible.

For, let us reason and argue a little, and sound, if it be possible, into the depth of this policy. By what person, I pray you, cou'd this strange design be conceiv'd and brought forth? was it by their founder *Saint Ignatius*? can we see, I do not say the scheme, but the shadow or least idea of it in their Constitutions? do any of the decrees of their General Congregations carry a tendency to this end? can we point at any one of their Generals, from *Saint Ignatius* downwards, to this day that has plotted this conspiracy, so fatal to the Gospel, and the purity of our Savior's Morals? was it not think you *Father Caraffa*, he, who without dispute was one of the holiest men of our age, and who, after he had govern'd for some years, died, but just as *Pascal* had attributed so good and laudable an intention to the Society? for, infine to carry on a project fix't and determin'd after this manner, and such as *Pascal* proposes it, the execution of which depends upon the whole body, or, at least, upon a great number of particular members, who must have the same prospects and designs, there must be one conductor and one

soul, with whom all these several particulars must have a correspondence, to guide and influence the motion. When *Titus Oates* and *Bedloe*, some years since, made a scheme of a plot in *England*, which cost *Viscount Stafford*, *Mr. Coleman*, and the five Jesuits their lives, they did not forget a seeming probability and shew of truth. They made the General of the Jesuits, by the Pope's permission, to dispatch all Commissions for the war, and dispose of all Offices of the Crown. The witnesses swore, they had seen a patent sealed with the Societies seal, by which my Lord *Arundel* was constituted Lord high Chancellor of *England*, by another, my Lord *Powis* was made Lord high Treasurer; by a third, my Lord *Bellasis* was declar'd General of the Army, that was to be raised against the King: of this army, my Lord *Petre* was appointed Lieutenant General, all sign'd by *Joannes Paulus Oliva General of the Jesuits*. In this manner things were particularly resolv'd upon and specified: the pretended head of the plot, and all the other conspirators, were very well known; and all this was believ'd by the common people of *England*, and God knows what horrid things were then sayd of the Jesuits politics. I wou'd fain see something like that, in this other conspiracy, of which the Jesuits are accus'd; especially, since *Pascal* gives us to understand, as he do's in the fifth Provincial Letter, that this great abuse, and total subversion of our Saviors Morals, is, not the effect of hazard,

nor

nor of an extravagant fancy, but, a settled concerted matter; which altho it be not the Jesuits end, their principal end, it is, however, a mean agreed and resolv'd upon among them, and of which without any new deliberation they daily make use, every one in his way, to bring about their main purpose and design.

It is pleasantly done of you, sayd *Eudoxus* interrupting him, to compare Mr. *Pascal* with *Outes* and *Bedloe*; those two gallant fellows, whose equally gross and infamous proceedings had so incens'd Mr. *Arnauld*, that in his Apology for the Catholics, he cou'd not forbear calling them *rogues* and *villains*. As to the rest, I do not very well know, what answer Mr. *Pascal* wou'd have made you, if the question had been put to himself: but I know, that in the place we have newly read, he seems to have obviated the objection, and answer'd it before hand. For being desirous to establish that principle, which makes so great a part of all his Letters, that this contrariety of severe and remiss Casuists, which is to be seen, as he says, in the Society, was not the effect of chance, nor of a liberty, that every one in it might have, of following his own caprice or wild fancy, in the choice of his opinions. this is the manner he speaks in.

“Ho what cou'd there be, answer'd I him,
 “the design of the whole body? it must needs
 “be, that they have no certain fix't and deter-
 “minate design, and that every one has the li-
 “berty to say, at all adventures, whatever he
 “thinks

"thinks fit. That cannot be, reply'd he; so
 "great a body cou'd not subsist with a rash,
 "inconsiderat, conduct, or without a soul,
 "that rul'd and govern'd all it's motions.
 "Besides they have a particular order, not to
 "print any thing, without leave from their
 "Superiors. But how then, sayd I to him,
 "can the Superiors consent to Maxims so very
 "contrary? that is the thing I am to ac-
 "quaint you with, answer'd he. Know
 "then, &c.

This is again repeated in the ninth Letter,
 as a point of the last importance. "And do
 "you not know, says his Jesuit, that our
 "Society is answerable for all the books of
 "our Fathers? I must needs instruct you in
 "this matter, for it is very fit you shou'd
 "know it; there is an order in our Society,
 "by which all sorts of Printers and Book-
 "sellers are forbid to sell any of our Fathers
 "works without the approbation of the Di-
 "vines, and the permission of the Superiors
 "of our Society Insomuch, that our
 "whole body is responsible, for all the books
 "of every one of our Fathers: whence it
 "comes to pass, that no work of ours, which
 "has not the spirit of the Society is ever pub-
 "lish'd, and thus have I told you, in few
 "words, what I judg'd was convenient for you
 "to know.

By this you see, continu'd *Eudoxus*, *Pascal*
 supposes, that this policy resides in the Supe-
 riors of the Society; and that it is, by con-
 cert

cert and agreement with them, that the inferiours do act, in bringing about this design of the whole body; and he do's not only suppose, but also farther endeavors to prove it, by observing and setting down, what is very true, that they have a particular order to print nothing without their Superiors permission.

It is of these cunning words, reply'd *Cleander*, you wou'd now discourse, words, which are thrown in, as it were by the by, without any seeming affectation, and which yet notwithstanding make the deepest impression upon the readers mind. Upon the coming forth of the Jesuits Apologies, they never fail'd to make a great noise of this their rule, to print nothing without the General's consent. But this week, as I was looking over all these matters, I was very desirous to satisfy my self in this point, as well as in the others. To which end I went ere yesterday to visit a Jesuit of my acquaintance, a man of wit and consideration; and put him upon this subject. I told him, that this particular order, known to be among their rules, of printing nothing without their Generals leave, was, by their adversaries, made use of to their prejudice, and, by vertue of it, all the faults of particular persons were attributed to the whole body.

I see then, sayd he to me, that you also have been so good and easy, as to suffer your self to be trapand, drawn in and caught in this net, as before you, several others have been. You call this a particular order, as if it were
not

not common to us, with almost all communities and bodys of men where there is any regularity and subordination; and yet notwithstanding it is but against us only, that it is objected and improv'd. But the manner alone, adds he, of executing this order, will convince you, of the weakness of the arguments our enemies draw from this topic: it is true, that we have this rule or order, to print nothing without our Generals permission, but it is not to be suppos'd, that the General himself reads and passes his own judgment upon all the books printed by the Jesuits in every part of the world. If that were so, his whole business wou'd only be to read books: for there has been a General, under whose government there were volumes enuff made, upon the single controversies with the Protestants of *Germany, Flanders, France and England*, to have taken up and employ'd the whole time of his Generalship. But for your farther satisfaction, you are to know, that the ordinary method of licensing books is after this manner.

The General gives the Provincials power, to approve of all the books in their own districts. But you must not fancy, that the Provincials themselves do read these books; no, no, their other employments do not allow them leisure for such a work: but they name three persons to do it, upon whose suffrages, they either give or refuse their approbation, and these three persons in passing their judgments are oblig'd to follow, not their own particular notions

notions and prejudices, but (especially in matters of Divinity) the opinions commonly receiv'd in the Catholic Schools and Universities. This is usually the rule they follow, wherein a great many other very good ones are included. This is the way ordinarily taken for this business, and it is impossible it shou'd be done otherwise. So that you see, there is little difference between a book printed, upon the approbation of three Doctors of *Sorbonne* with reference to the whole house of *Sorbonne*, and a book printed, upon the approbation of three Jesuit Divines, with reference to the whole Society of Jesuits.

After the Father had thus entertain'd me upon this subject, he put me in mind of the persecutions, rais'd against the Society in Father *Coton's* time, and the beginning of their establishment in *France*; occasion'd by books, brought from *Italy* and other places, to make the *French* Jesuits guilty of treason against the state, or to be look'd upon as enemies to the liberties of the *Gallican* Church, and how the Court and Parliament, in those days, notwithstanding their prejudice, and the suspicions that were continually suggested against them, did always, in that affair, hearken to, and perfectly govern themselves, by reason.

Now the matter being thus, continu'd *Cleander*, and in reality not being possible to be otherwise, do's it not appear to you, that the system of the Jesuits politics, which *Pascal* has built upon this weak and ruinous foundation,

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is false and malicious? and this being allow'd, wou'd not the comparison I made, without pretending that it was very exact, be a little more so, than you thought of first? what a pleasant argument is this? the Provincial of a Province in *Spain* approves a book, upon the suffrages, or votes of three *Spaniards* of the Society; this book then being approv'd by the Superior, contains or comprehends the spirit of the whole society. Now the Jesuits having several different opinions, in their books, about one and the same matter, this diversity among their Divines, which is every day to be found, must be an effect of the General's politics, who presides over all, and who takes care for the glory and benefit of the Society, to make and keep up this diversity of opinions, at no less a price to the Church, than the subversion of Christianity, and the destruction of the Gospel: these are things, which a man, upon the least reflexion, wou'd be asham'd to have once thought, or but even suspected.

Eudoxus satisfied with this account of *Clean-
ders*, sayd to him: you have indeed hit the nail on the head, and this simple explanation you have made of the matter, discovers, by it self alone, the weakness, the essential weakness of all *Pascals* Letters. But however, do not value your self too much, upon the honor of this my confession: for I my self, for a long time, have had some scruples about this fine system, in spite of the dazzling manner

manner it is propos'd in: he includes, or supposes certain paradoxes, which are highly improbable, and too remote from the common ordinary notions and ideas: for, according to what *Pascal* pretends to teach us of the Jesuits government, all those, who have had any share in it, must needs have been, and still are, not only great politicians (a commendation which I my self know for certain, several of 'um do not deserve) but also most wicked profligate wretches, and the most resolv'd, and incorrigible libertins, who had absolutely renounc'd all piety, and Religion. But let me yet ask you, once more, what, according to *Pascal*, is the matter in dispute? nothing less, than the overturning and confounding the whole Gospel, the introducing Morals, perfectly carnal, instead of those taught us by our Savior, the profaning our greatest and most august mysteries; and that in cold blood, by previous agreement and methods, by measures expressly resolv'd on, marking out, to every man, the part he was to act in this execrable conspiracy; wherein, some were to appear harsh and severe; others, gentle and accommodating. So that, not only the Superiors, but all their Divines, all their Confessors, all their Directors must engage in so damnable a plot; that is to say, two thirds of this great body: for, excepting the yong men, who are not in holy orders, all, or almost all, some, more, some, less, are employ'd in conducting and guiding of Souls. Now, to come to the
matter

matter of fact, I am very confident, that neither you, nor I, nor any person in *Paris*, nor in any other parts of *France*, nor even those they call Jansenists, will ever believe, that any Jesuit, of their acquaintance, is capable of such and excess of impiety. I never yet saw the man, that sayd to me, of any one of them in particular: I know this Jesuit, to be a libertin, an Atheist, a man without conscience, and one, that wou'd sell his Soul, for the glory and interest of his Society: on the contrary, they give them, in general, the honor of certain vertu's, which can, as little, subsist without faith and the fear of God, as faith and the fear of God can, with the principles of this damnable policy. The Jansenists, from time to time, do make some common places in their books, in favor of their own party, which sometimes the Jesuits, finding them made to their hands, may, I hope, be allow'd to apply to their own use. As for example, that which is sayd in a little book call'd *Le Pere Bouhours convaincu de calomnie*, and which may serve for a handsome pithy conclusion to all I have sayd on this subject.

"He must be very corrupt himself and rotten at heart, in the words of that author, "who imagin'd his neighbor cou'd be guilty "of such desperat wickedness and corruption; "and none, but a man extreamly fond of the "esteem of the world, cou'd fancy that others, "by a form'd design, wou'd be willing to buy, "at the price of their faith and of their Sal-

"vation,

“vation, a vain name and reputation; or rather the mad foolish pleasure of being talk’d of, no matter whether for good, or for evil.

I will not examin, continued *Eudoxus*, the truth of this reflexion, but supposing it very probable, in reference to any one particular; it ought to appear much more so, in reference to the Superiors, Confessors, Directors and Missioners of the whole Society taken altogether; and it wou’d be in my opinion, a less wonder, to see, among the Jansenist Doctors, one or two hypocrites, libertins in their hearts, than to see this great number of Jesuits, without God, without faith and without conscience.

But what do I say, their Superiors, their Directors, their Missioners? After *Pascal* had unvail’d and discover’d all these pretended mysteries, and that the Provincial Letters had been read by all the Jesuits; after that, by vertue of these Letters, so many people believ’d they had a right to accuse them of their loose Morals; wou’d none of all those yong Jesuits, from whom till then they had hid the secret of their order, and who for the most part do not want wit, have open’d their eyes, and abhor’d to continue members of so corrupted a body? what desertion ought we not to have seen, by the favor of a motive so specious and so reasonable as that? for it is not the same thing in this, as in other orders: here is always a door open, or at least one that

that is easily open'd to those who are fully resolv'd to be gone. What fairer pretence cou'd any such have had, to color their baseness, or their inconstancy? and as for such, as are sometimes turn'd out of the Society, for their misbehaviour and ill conduct, cou'd they have had a more sure, and a more easy way to be reveng'd, than to publish and reveal this mystery? or have the Superiors of the Society, over and above their politics, the art to insinuat and bewitch men, or, at one bout, to make so great a number of persons, Atheists, that have enter'd into their order, for no other end, but to secure themselves, against the corruption of the world? now from what I have already sayd, it is clear, this policy of the Jesuits, cou'd be no longer a mystery, to any of themselves; and not being a mystery, it wou'd be a miracle, without example, if none among them shou'd have been scandaliz'd at, and afterwards discover'd this so abominable and so horrid an impiety.

It wou'd be yet a much greater prodigy, answer'd *Cleander*, to see men of such colors or characters, as the Jesuits are sometimes painted in, strive for, and unanimously tend to the glory of their Society, by ways so different and so unequal, as are the employments of this Society. Some are seen in Courts, in credit and in reputation, respected, applauded, and honored with the kindness and confidence of Princes; whilst, at the same time, a very great number dy, of cold and hunger, in the
forests

forests of *Canada* : others go, with all imaginable joy and chearfulness, to ruin their healths for the remainder of their lives, in the Isles of south *America* ; where of thirty, there are not found two, that in time are not destroy'd by the very malignity of the air ; not to speak of those, that have been hang'd in *England*, burnt or buried alive in *Japan*, the common fate of a great number of their Missioners. For you must understand, that it is plainly sayd, and publicly printed, that the Jesuits, in those Countries, are not one jot better, than those of *France*. And let them say as much as they please, of their trading and enriching themselves in those far distant Countries, it is putting too great a value upon traffick and commerce ; and I know none, how greedy soever of gain, that wou'd be Merchants upon such terms. These good Fathers then will go, with great content and satisfaction, to have themselves roasted and eaten alive, by the *Iroques* and wild *Americans*, and to pass the winters, in the woods, with savages, without any other places of retreat, than a poor hut, or a cabane made of the bark of trees, where the smoak blinds and choaks those that are forc'd to retire thither, to defend themselves against the extremity and bitterness of the cold ; and all this, forsooth, only to have the honor of establishing, over all the world, their loose Morals, and enlarging the glory of their Society ; and to give to the Secular Preachers, sometimes invited to Preach upon

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Saint

Morale
pratique
pref. du
1. tom.

Saint *Ignatius's* day, an occasion to compliment the Jesuits of *Paris*, for their zeal, their functions, and their Apostolic labors. If this be so, I do not despair, but that we may live to see, some time or other, a Society of highway men spring up, who, all joyning together in the design of robbing, plundering and killing, will agree among themselves, that some, of them, shall peacably enjoy their booties, and the fruits of the others labors, without ever exposing themselves to any danger; and that these, after they have sufficiently robb'd and plunder'd, without enjoying any profit or advantage by all their labors, will give themselves up to be hang'd and broken alive upon wheelles, only for the interest, and the security of the rest of their companions.

Self-love, sayd *Eudoxus*, is, in truth, too much self-love, to devote it self so absolutely and so intirely to the public good; such a kind of Man, is, in Morals, a chimerical whimsey, and it were meer madness to think, there cou'd be found a man, who, out of zeal to the common interest, wou'd wholly forget or deny himself, and sacrifice his ease and quiet, his pleasures, his satisfaction and his life, to the glory of the body, whereof he is a member, without once thinking of his own particular. I wou'd say to him, and to all like him, what a Protestant Minister some years ago sayd to a Jesuit he met travalling towards *China*. He ask'd him what he had got from the Pope to engage himself in so long, so trouble-
some,

some, and so dangerous a voiage: nothing, answer'd the Jesuit. Ho, sayd the Minister in his Dutch latin, *Bene stulti estis vos.*

You are a
company
of silly
fools.
Let. du P.
Verbieft.

That wou'd be, without doubt, answer'd *Cleander*, a very refin'd piece of vanity, and an act of pride, of a very particular nature: it is very rare to see, but two men of the same rank and quality, the same age, and, as near as possible, of equal wit and merit, agree without falling out, or without hurting or injuring one another upon occasion, if they be but never so little touch'd with vain-glory, or possess'd with the spirit of pride: and yet one may see thousands of men, the vainest that ever were, if you'll believe the author of the system we are examining; of which the greatest part have wit and learning, and who, naturally speaking, ought to rival one another in employments; I say, one may see them, accept of, and do their duty without murmuring, in posts that are most extreamly unequal, and between which there is as much difference, for the conveniences of life, for diet and for lodging, for conversation, for employment, and for all the natural satisfactions of the mind, as there is between the fairest and greatest Citys of this Kingdom, and the wildest and most dreadful Desarts of *America* and *Monomotapa*. Certainly, if this be the effect, either of vanity, or of policy, one may very well call it, a most extraordinary and incomparable Master-piece, So that whatever the author of the *Parallele des Anciens & des Modernes* thinks of it, I will

deduct, out of the panegyric he has made of the Provincial Letters, his *Solidity of reasoning, or arguing*, at least upon this first and most principal article. I can, in this point, compare at best *Pascal's* cunning but to the artifice of skilful painters in perspective, who produce and expose pieces, which, at first view, pleasantly deceive and inveigle the lookers on, to make rash and false judgments; but such indeed, as are easily and soon corrected, by reason and reflexion. Nothing, sayd *Eudoxus*, can be better, more full, and more expressive than this your comparison.

I have something yet to say, answer'd *Cleander*, of greater force, and much more to the purpose; and which comes so naturally into a man's mind, who reads the Provincial Letters with never so little attention, and without prepossession, that, certainly, it cou'd not have escap'd your own thoughts and reflexion. *Pascal* do's not at all keep his word with us. He undertakes to give us the character of a policy particular to the Jesuits, as the most subtil and crafty, that ever was invented or contriv'd by the wit of man: he promises to make us see into it's inmost recesses, and find out the finest and most delicat parts of this mystery; but how, I pray, do's he go about it? no doubt one wou'd think very learnedly and profoundly: but alas! after all, he makes the Jesuits choose, very wisely, means to arrive at their ends, which, generally speaking, are common to theirs, with all other orders; with all other communities,

communities, and with all Universities: and by consequence either do not prove, that these Fathers are more subtil than others, or else, that others are, full as cunning as they.

And to make plausible this diversity of Directors, of which some are easy and complaisant, others rigorous and severe, he has made the Jesuits the inventors of the doctrine of probable opinions in Divinity; by which, says he, the contrariety of decisions is not only permitted, but also made useful and necessary.

That is not an ill thought, sayd Eudoxus; and this diversity of Directors, of whom some determin severely, others loosely, seems very like truth, and probable enuff according to the doctrine of probabilities, by which, very often some do, in reality, decide the cases propos'd, in a contrary manner to what others do.

That is true, answer'd Cleander; but as ill luck wou'd have it for Pascal, it is too well known, that this doctrine is much older than the Jesuits: and that it is so far, from being peculiar to them, that before it was decried and run down, by the horrible, friteful figures, wherein it was represented, that is to say, till within these thirty or forty years, it was taught every where, in all the Schools of Christendom. Insomuch, that the Jesuits, to free themselves from the imputation, have shewn, by a book expressly written, that this opinion, whatever it be, is no more an opinion of theirs, than it is of the Divines of Sorbonne, or of

Quæstio
facti.

those of *Louvain*, of the *Dominicans*, of the *Franciscans*, and of all others ; maintaining, and, in my opinion fully proving, that they never taught any thing in this matter, but what was taught, by the chief, and almost all the Doctors of these several Schools and Universities. I will shew you this book, whenever you will : for the proof of this matter of fact, which is most certainly true, wou'd carry us too far away from our present business. In the mean time, give me leave, to make this conclusion : that, if the doctrine of probable opinions, be, the secret and essential point of the Jesuits politics, the *Dominicans*, the *Franciscans*, the *Augustins*, the *Sorbonne*, the University of *Louvain* and all others, are to the full, at least, as knowing as they, in matters of policy : and that, on one side, they do the Jesuits too much honor, in giving them more wit and more learning, than to all these famous Societies ; and on the other, the greatest injustice in the world, by making them, under this pretence, the sole authors of the real or pretended corruption of Christian Morals.

To which I will add ; that you shall not only find, in all these several bodies, this wonderful foundation of the Jesuits policy, I mean the doctrine of probable opinions, together with all that depends upon it ; but I will also shew you, and, in the same way, that *Pascal* has made use of, with so much wit, and so much charity to the Jesuits, that among the Divines of *Sorbonne* and of *Louvain*, among the

Dominicans

Dominicans and other Religious orders, the two sorts of Directors, he mentions, the severe and the easy ones, are, without controversy, to be found; and by substituting the names of these communities, instead of the *Jesuits*, I will prepare you, by the fifth Provincial Letter, to hear their panegyric, exactly like or equal to that, which *Pascal* has made for the Society. I may perhaps retrench out of it, the story of *John d'Alba*, that of the probable box on the ear at *Compiegne*; some strokes and touches of *Imago primi sæculi*: but searching on a little farther, I shall not miss of enuff and to spare, to make amends for this retrenchment. And I shall find very near as much to divert my self upon this subject, as *Pascal* has done. I will make my self the same sport, and with the same series of collections, out of several authors, heap'd up together, and dispos'd according to my own fancy; I will draw the same consequences, make the same comparisons, the same invectives, and the same applications; and I will end with an address to the *Dominicans*, or to others as *Pascal* has finish'd his thirteenth Letter with one to the *Jesuits*, in these words.

“ Let us then conclude, my Fathers, that since
 “ your probability makes the good opinions of
 “ some of your authors unuseful to the Church,
 “ and only useful to your politics, they serve
 “ but to shew, by their contrariety, your
 “ double heartedness, the insincerity of your
 “ dealings, which you have plainly discover'd
 “ by declaring to us, that you have some of
 “ your

"your Divines, on one side against murder,
 "and that, on the other, you have many
 "more eminent Casuists for it; to the end
 "you may have two ways to offer men, de-
 "stroying thereby the simplicity of the spirit
 "of God, who curses all double minded peo-
 "ple, who provide for themselves two paths
 "to walk in, *Ve duplici corde, & ingredienti dua-*
 "*bus vijs.*

The Jesuits, answer'd *Eudoxus*, have long
 since in their Apologies made this observation,
 which effectually and irrefragably proves, if it
 be true, what you intended to make out, that
Pascal's way of arguing in this matter is not
solid, taking the word *solid* in it's common
 ordinary notion and acceptation. But it seems
 the author of the parallele has form'd of it to
 himself a notion of much greater extent or la-
 titude. Perhaps as a member of the Academy
 he may have, or pretend to have, a right over
 the signification of words. How weak soever
 the arguments we treat of may be in them-
 selves, the wit which made use of them has
 given them some strength. Is it not to think
 and in some manner to write solidly, to get
 directly to his end, and to know how to guide
 and conduct his readers to it; to engage them
 in his interests, to inspire them with what
 thoughts he pleases, and to make them say
 their author is in the right, and that his adver-
 saries are for certain in the wrong? has not
Pascal got what he aim'd at, and obtain'd his
 design? he has made his book to be read by
 all

all the world, and be believ'd by many; he has made, almost, every thing he has sayd in this matter plausible and currant. Exact truth was not the rule he follow'd, at least in the point we now speak of. Christian charity, a word much made use of in the *Port-Royal* books, has a little suffer'd by it, and nothing can be plainer, than that in this he has not acted by the strict laws of severe Morals. But it has produc'd at least the effect he intended: for my part, I'll call this being *solid*, if it were but to pleasure or compliment Mr. *Perrault*. But to come to the point, the bottom of the matter, continues he, do you think that *Pascal* was in earnest, and had a mind to be believ'd in all he sayd? surely his only thoughts were to gratify his friends, and gain himself a reputation: this it was without doubt which made him so very desirous to divert both himself and the public.

Pardon me, sayd *Cleander* interrupting him, you do not fully consider what *Pascal* had in prospect: see what *Wendrok* says of it. Whereupon he open'd and read him the latter part of his first note upon the eleventh Letter, wherein he speaks after this manner. "To believe that *Montaltius* had no design in these Letters, but merriment and sport, or to make men laugh at the Jesuits cost, and divert the world by his witty writings, is to make an unjust and false judgment of them. He propos'd to himself a more serious, and a more holy end, and aim'd altogether

“together at the Church and the Jesuits advantage.”

Ay marry Sir, this is fine, good indeed, and very likely, answer'd *Eudoxus* laughing, as if I did not know *Wendrok* and his friends, and understand their meaning; 'twas, no doubt, for the good and benefit of the Jesuits, and in meer charity to 'um, that they writ the Provincial Letters, and sent them about to every body; that they first presented them to their Proselyts for a fifth Gospel; and that since, within these two years, their friends, the Religious of **** order'd them to be read in the Pensioners Refectory; that they publish'd six or seven tomes of their practical Morals; and that in the Seminary of the Diocese of **** this book was formerly recommended, to such as were to enter into holy Orders, for their Spiritual Lectures; that they got all sorts of libels against the Society to be sent from *Japan* and from *China*, from the *Philippine Islands*, and from *Paraguay*; that they made the *Jesuits Theater* the maddest, and as is sayd, the most extravagantly slanderous piece, that ever was seen, pass under the name, and for the work, of a most holy and illustrious Spanish Bishop; and that they still daily give themselves, upon every occasion, a loose against these Fathers, endeavoring any how to destroy and subvert their reputations; railing and inveighing bitterly against them, in their books, and in all companys, and conversations. Saint *Paul*, in his enumeration to the *Corinthians* of the effects
of

of Charity, has forgot to make mention of any of these kinds; which makes me often doubt, whether Jansenist Charity be of the same species, or kind, with Christian Charity. And to speak my thoughts freely, I never saw any thing more od, nor to say more sacrilegious, than the union they make of the charity inspir'd by the Holy Ghost, with that gall, bitterness, and animosity, which, on all occasions, they shew and express; and which they endeavor to inspire into all mankind, both in privat and in public. I do assure you, that this very reflexion, alone, wou'd have hinder'd me from closing with this party, from being drawn in, dup'd, or made one of their cully's: and I am surpris'd to think, how men of wit cou'd hope, or expect, long, to blind or dazzle the world by this method. For, tho' it be mightily corrupted, it has yet judgment enuff left, to discern and distinguish, whether some things proceed from the spirit of God, or from malice and passion.

And as for me, adds *Cleander*, I never saw this admirable secret, of sanctifying the most grievous injuries and invectives, practis'd, on a hundred occasions, by Mr. *Arnauld* and his friends, without being mov'd to laughter. I am perswaded if *Molière* had but brought a second *Tartuffe* upon the stage, he wou'd have given him this character; and, thereby have diverted the spectators as much as by the first. But I plainly perceive, continu'd *Cleander*, that we are fully agreed about the idea we have form'd

form'd to our selves, of the scheme *Pascal* has drawn of the Jesuits politics. You pardon *Per-rault* his having call'd it *solid*, since the author has obtain'd his end, and that he had the skill, according to the design he had fram'd to himself, to make all he sayd pass for, or, at least, appear, like truth; and at the same time to give the reader so much pleasure and diversion, as to hinder him from reflecting upon the weakness and vanity of his system: this I wou'd have you pass by and allow me.

You will also grant me, that looking narrowly into things, this policy, so particular, so mysterious, and, at the same time, so execrable, is a meer empty fantome; which, taken out of the fine and advantagious cloths he had dress'd it in, has nothing in it even of probability; nor can have any, except in *England* or in *Holland*, where a Jesuit and a wizard or a conjurer passes, among the generality, for one and the same thing.

Your thoughts and mine, answers *Eudoxus*, do perfectly agree: but this being suppos'd, cannot we now make, at least, upon this particular article, the same reflexions that the Marchionesse of *Sablé* did; of which you spoke in our former conversation; and ask, with what conscience *Pascal* cou'd divert himself and the world, by a notion or idea, which however empty and groundless it appears, and really is, to any one, that gives himself but a little trouble to examin it, leaves notwithstanding a most frightful impression on the minds of the greatest

greatest part of his readers? by what principle of charity, or honesty, has he endeavor'd, in the following Letters, to fortify and strengthen this impression, till he has given this idea root and footing, and made it familiar to all people; and, afterwards taking it for an undeniable truth, he has made use of it, to enable him, to tear in pieces most unmercifully the reputation of so considerable a body, as that of the Jesuits: for, as you very well observ'd a little while ago, *Pascals* pleasanteries got more ground and credit, than several at first thought they ever cou'd or did deserve. From this hypothesis or supposition of the Jesuits Plot to aggrandize their Society, he claims a right, to say whatever he pleases; and makes them sacrifice all things even to the very Gospel, to bring it about he makes use of it, to have this Society look'd upon, as the plague of the Church, and to make every thing they either say or do be suspected. Upon this principle a case is ill decided by a Divine of this Society, must not be allow'd, as in another man, to be an effect of human weakness, but a wilful crime, and a premeditated attempt against the doctrine of Jesus Christ. They may pretend, but all in vain, that twenty of the most eminent Divines of the Society were of a contrary opinion; that was order'd, and done on purpose, for no other end, but to establish his system, of the division of directors into two sorts, the one rigid and severe, the others soft and complaisant. Whatever course

course the Jesuits take to defend themselves, *Pascal* still renews his attacks against them, and reinforces all by this common place.

That is to say, adds *Cleander*, that this false system, which is taken for granted in all the Provincial Letters, and from whence all that is besides contain'd in them, derives it's force, is a most horrible calumny, and an imposture carried on, and continued from one end to the other.

Why did not the Jesuits, answer'd *Eudoxus*, make this be perceiv'd, when those Letters were first publish'd? this foolish notion, which upon the first serious reflexion falls to the ground, having been once remov'd, all the world after a fit of laughter wou'd have entertain'd no thoughts, but of indignation against this Champion of severe Morals, and against those that had relax'd them, perceiving plainly that their actions were quite contrary to the maxims which they preach'd. Before the Jesuit went about to convince him, as they undertook to do, of his nine and twenty particular falsehoods and impostures, they ought to have begun with this general and essential imposture. And this being once prov'd, than which nothing was more easy, all the world wou'd have been prepar'd to receive the rest as they deserv'd: it wou'd have ruin'd beforehand the whole strength of *Pascals* replies, all which turn upon this hinge, as well as his first accusations. The Jesuits not having soon enuff chas'd away this sprite or phantome, it became
a bug-

a bugbear, to frighten from them an infinity of persons: and I confess to you, that, with this prepossession, I my self shou'd have found very little difference, between the direction of Jesuits, and the direction of Antichrist

And it appears to me, that those who believ'd *Pascal* have not done enuff: for upon supposition of a discovery made, of such a correspondence, and such a plot, actually on foot among the Jesuits, against the Morals of our Savior, they ought, every man of 'um, to be drown'd, or treated, as convicted and obstinate Jews are treated by the Spanish Inquisition: fire and fagot for such a crime, well and clearly prov'd and made out, wou'd have been by far too small a punishment.

What a sentence is this you pronounce? says *Cleander* laughing: God defend the Jesuits from falling under the hands of a true downright Jansenist, so severe as you in his opinion. I am satisfi'd, you wou'd not be long about the work, or do it at twice, but be of the good Religious *Spaniards* humor, who, even while Saint *Ignatius* was alive, sayd very unkindly, *That all the Jesuits from Perpignan to Seville ought to be burnt.* *Pascal* was not willing to carry things so far; 'tis true, that he sayd, very plainly, and without mincing of the matter, that the Jesuits had plotted and concerted among themselves, the destruction of Christian Morals, to the end their Confessionals and their Churches might be well fill'd: that this was a settled premeditated design;

Vie de St
Ignace.

sign; and that for the execution of this fine project, their Doctors and Directors had, every one, their several parts mark'd and pointed out: but he easily foresaw, that, upon his word alone, the work wou'd not be presently undertaken, he did not expect that this, at first, wou'd be believ'd like an article of faith; it was sufficient for his purpose, to make the thing probable: and but only to doubt, or suspect it, was enuff, in the minds of many honest Men, to produce the effect he aim'd at: which was, to make them first mistrust the Jesuits, and afterwards to banish them their companies. More was not necessary, for an infinity of people, who have no great good will for them, to engage them to declaim aloud against the public disorders, or to bemoan, in soft whispers in their friends ears, the general depravation of manners, occasion'd by the relaxation and corruption of the Society: and believe me, those very declamations and bemoanings, alone, are sufficiently powerful, to prepossess and fill peoples heads with groundless fancies, and obstinat opinions; which was all that *Pascal* propos'd to himself, or, at least, the party by his means. After whom comes *Wendrok*, not raillying, like him, but speaking, against the Jesuits, the most frightful injuries, malice cou'd invent; and persuading many, by the confidence alone of his assertions, to believe that all he had sayd was true. As for my self, I have seen a well govern'd community

munity at *Paris*, and at Court a certain Lord, very pious and very conscientious, suppose as a matter of fact, of which there cou'd not be the least doubt, that the Jesuits Morals, were loose and corrupted Morals: a truth, say they, plainly shewn and made out by the Provincial Letters, and by *Wendrok*. Father ****, a very inwardly devout and good Religious man, has always entertain'd me in this manner upon this subject. Mr. ****, a most vertuous and Saint-like Priest, advis'd me to break off all commerce with the Jesuits.

What do's all this prove, sayd *Eudoxus*, interrupting him, and almost angry, but that *Pascal* is the most skilful, the most malicious, and the most dangerous of all impostors? and that, by imposing upon the Jesuits a crime, as black and grievous, as it is chimerical and morally impossible, he had wit enuff to make plausible, so extravagant a calumny: and that he is guilty of all the false and rash judgments, that have been, already, and still are, daily, made upon this subject.

Altho my thoughts, upon this whole matter, are almost the same with yours, answer'd *Cleander*, yet wou'd I not willingly declare them so plainly, and without reserve. *Pascal* an impostor! that's an expression seldom made use of towards him: he is commonly call'd, the illustrious and the admirable Mr. *Pascal*.

Very well, reply'd *Eudoxus*, but yet this illustrious, this admirable Mr. *Pascal*, whom you are somewhat shy and unwilling to call an

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impostor, was treated in the Court of Justice, just as impostors are us'd to be. His Provincial Letters were publicly burnt with infamy, by the judgment and order of the Parliament of Province, declaring Them full of calumnies, falsehoods, suppositions, and defamations: these are the express words of the sentence, which you may read at the end of the Jesuits answers to the Provincial Letters. You may also see at the end of the small collection made after the judgment of the Parliament of Aix, the commendations given by the Archbishop of Mechlin to those Letters; which he calls *injurious, scandalous, and deceitful impostures*, and graces their authors with the title of *insolent detractors and calumniators*. I remember, added Eudoxus, that turning over, lately, some old papers, I found one concerning this subject, and lo here it stands upon this shelf; it is the judgment given of the Provincial Letters, and Wendrok's notes upon them, by certain Bishops of France and Doctors of Sorbonne, who, by the Kings command, had had the examination of them.

“We, the undernamed persons, appointed, “by the order of the King, to give our judgment, of a book, call'd the *Provincial Letters* “of Lewis Montaltius, &c. do certifie and “declare, that having carefully, and diligently “examin'd this book, we find *Jansenius's* here- “fies, condemn'd by the Church, contain'd and “defended therein: and that, not only in “these Letters, but *In the Notes also of William* “Wendrok, and in the *Disquisitions of Paulus* “Ireneus,

"Ireneus, thereunto annex'd. That this thing
 "is so evident, that it cannot be deny'd, by
 "any, who have either read or understood this
 "book: or, which is yet worse, who do not
 "hold for heretical, what the Popes, the *Gal-*
 "*lican* Church, and the *Paris* Divines have de-
 "clar'd and condemn'd for heretical. We do
 "further testifie, that slander and insolence are
 "so natural to these three authors, that ex-
 "cepting the Jansenists, they spare no body
 "whatsoever: neither Popes, nor Bishops,
 "neither the King, nor his Ministers of State,
 "neither the Divines of the University of *Paris*,
 "nor Religious Orders; and therefore we judge,
 "that this book do's deserve all the punish-
 "ments, appointed by law, for defamatory
 "and heretical libels: dated at *Paris* the 7th. of
 "September 1660.

HENRY DE LA MOTTE *Bishop of Rennes.*

HARDOUINE *Bishop of Rhodéz.*

FRANCIS *Bishop of Amiens.*

CHARLES *Bishop of Soissons.*

CHAPELAS *Curat of Saint James's, MOREE,*
 BAIL, NICOLAI, GRANDIN, SAUSSOY, DE
 GANCY, CHAMILLARD, DE LESTOCQ.

What say you to this, continues *Eudoxus*?
 I am of opinion, that if *Pascals* friends had
 not been as kind to him, as he was to them,
Pascal, the impostor, wou'd not have been an
 expression so much out of fashion, as it is at
 this day. And I cannot but admire, that
 the good Fathers, the Jesuits, can suffer

that all this shou'd be forgotten by the publick.

Pascals friends, answers *Cleander*, do give out, that all these orders, judgments, and censures were obtain'd, purely, by the credit, interest, and intrigues of the Fathers of the Society.

They must of necessity say so, reply'd *Eudoxus*; what else cou'd they possibly say? but are we, I pray you, bound to believe them? altho there had been no other thing, in the Provincial Letters false, but this one fundamental article, which of it self falls to the ground, the order of the Council of State, and the decree of the Parliament of *Province*, and the Bishop of *Mechlin's* censure wou'd have been most just and equitable; and this very thing alone wou'd have been a strong prejudice against all the rest.

Nothing of prejudice, I beseech you, sayd *Cleander*, interrupting him: be but a little patient; you seem too much disturb'd: we have hitherto judg'd by pure reason, and not by passion; let us continue to do so still. The Jesuits politics, in this respect, is a meer chimaera, a foolish fancy: *Pascals* system has nothing in it of likelihood, or probability; if the Jesuits have corrupted our Morals, it was not by concert or agreement with one another; and *Pascals* Jansenist has not done prudently, in declaring, so strongly, in the fifth Provincial Letter, against what they sayd to him, that the diversity of decisions, among the Jesuit Divines, did not proceed so much, from a
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plot and conspiracy, as from too great a liberty they all took, of saying whatever came into their thoughts : he shou'd have reserv'd for himself this loophole in case of necessity : but, in spite of his teeth, notwithstanding all his evasions he must have recourse to that at last. Let us then examin whether he be not more sincere in the remainder, and whether the Jesuits cause be as good, and as easy to be defended in the other points, as in this. Let whatever *Pascal* has sayd, upon the empty and idle supposition of two kinds of Directors, go for nothing : this is a childish fancy, and a perfect jest, without the least appearance of truth. Let us not suffer our selves to be surpris'd, by these malicious and artificial tricks, which, having no solid foundation, subsists but in the air, in the brains of whimsical men. Behold my Fathers, a further effect, a greater secret, of your politics, and a more pernicious consequence of your wicked designs; together with a hundred more such like discourses; all this is but whip'd cream, a phantastical bubble, which is far from being solid, and signifies just nothing. Let us, if you please, begin first with the examination of the article of probable opinions, the foundation and ground-work if you'll believe *Pascal* of the Jesuits policy. With all my heart, sayd *Eudoxus* : but the matter is difficult and curious, and I know not whether we shall be able to compass it, without the help and assistance of some others.

The Third Discourse.

Cleander, coming to Eudoxus's house, where they were to go on with their conferences, found there the Abbot of *** a learned man, but free, openhearted, and exceeding upright, about fifty years old, and one, who, in all his life, cou'd never endure to see men trick and deceive others: he cou'd not comprehend, how men cou'd possibly be insincere, and cou'd easily pardon all faults, but that of double dealing; which astonish'd and vex'd him so much, that he was often tempted, with *Moliér's* man-hater, to renounce and quit the world, to avoid the vexation and displeasure of hearing a cheat and a lyer commended, and applauded at the expence of truth. *Pascal* had the honor of being esteem'd by this Gentleman for such a person. The wit, the quaint expressions, and the facerious raillery, which he lik'd very well in other works, did not at all move him in the Provincial Letters: he cou'd not bear hearing them commended; and he was wont to say, that the only praise the authors deserv'd, was such as ought to be given to a skilful poysonner, who knew how to mix and prepare his poyson so artificially, that all the world shou'd find the tasting of it pleasant.

Eudoxus, who us'd to be sometimes very much delighted with the Abbot's zeal for sincerity, had almost upon *Cleander's* coming in,
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put him into that humor: he had only shewn him the second tome of the *Parallele des Anciens & des Modernes*, and ask'd him, whether he had ever read that piece; he look'd upon the title, and having open'd it at a place that was mark'd, he hit upon the panegyric of the Provincial Letters; of which he had no sooner read three or four lines, than he threw it down, saying, he neither had, nor ever wou'd, read that book: is it possible added he, with indignation, that the public will never be reveng'd on these Letters, for their insolence, and the affronts they put upon the *Sorbonne* Divines, our Religion and it's defenders; and that, after this book has been condemn'd to the fire, both by the Ecclesiastic, and the Secular tribunals, any one shou'd dare, publicly, to give it such extravagant praises?

Cleander, who cou'd not forbear laughing at the emotion and vexation wherein he saw the Abbot: saluted him, and told him, that his resolution cou'd not but be very obliging to them two, who were then actually busy in drawing up an inditement against the person he was so angry at. *Eudoxus* further telling him, that he wou'd do them a singular pleasure, to assist them with his notions and knowledge in a matter, wherein they had great need of his help. But we love, says he, to examin things calmly, without heat or passion: and therefore we entreat you wou'd a little moderate that zeal which has so much transported you.

What do you trouble your selves about?

reply'd the Abbot briskly: moderation is indeed necessary in Judges; and I perceive you two have a mind to make your selves such in this cause. But as for my self, I am already fix'd in the matter. I have chosen my part, and have long since known, what I ought to think, both of this book, and of it's author, and from this moment I do declare my self the accuser and prosecutor both of the one and of the other: and a little warmth in acting this part, will not perhaps be very unbecoming

This is the best in the world, answer'd *Cleander*; but, turning himself to *Eudoxus*, he added: let us be upon our guard, and not suffer, that the esteem we have for the Abbot, shou'd make us too favorable to the Jesuits, or too averse to *Pascal*.

I esteem the Jesuits, reply'd the Abbot; but it is not their interest which encourages me to this undertaking, but only the love of oppress'd innocence and truth; and the consideration of the strange prepossession men have, in favor of this book; wherein means are daily us'd to confirm thousands, who wou'd quickly come off, and quit their good opinion, if they wou'd but reflect upon the causes that produc'd this master-piece of calumny. All the world knows, that this work, is a work of recrimination. The Church had declar'd the Jansenists heretics; it was afterwards necessary they shou'd make their adversaries appear, at least, the corrupters of Morals. But tell me I pray what piece of this large subject were you upon? we
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have yet met, but once, about this matter, answer'd *Eudoxus*; and we have already done the Society justice, in a point of great importance: it is about the liberty *Pascal* has taken, to make himself and others sport with the system he has fram'd of the Jesuits politics; founded upon a conspiracy between the Casuists, Directors, and Superiors of this Society, against the Gospel and the Morals of our Savior, for the glory and establishment of their Society, at the price of their own damnation, and the damnation of an infinit number of other Souls. You may therefore reckon upon't, that neither *Cleander* nor I, are to be dup'd, or fool'd, upon *Pascal's* word, into the belief of so incredible a thing as that, which has not appear'd to us to carry along with it, even the least shadow, or resemblance of truth.

How, replies the Abbot, do you think that ever *Pascal* himself believ'd it? or that even Mr. *Arnauld* did? altho' that, by an excess of honesty, this Gentleman always seem'd, almost in all his books, to take for granted the truth of this matter of fact, the most chimerical and fantastical, that ever was invented?

That which we are now to examin, continu'd *Eudoxus*, is the article of probable opinions; which *Pascal* has made the foundation of all the Jesuits policy, and which he calls the A, B, C, of their Morals. It is by that, he endeavors to give some color to that pleasant division of accommodating and severe Directors: in which point, if you'll believe him, they are agreed

agreed among themselves. Nothing is now spoken of but the doctrine of probability; this is the common subject of prattle and discourse among the devotes and among the libertines. Some rage and storm against it, others make a jest of it, and very few dare defend it. The very Curat, of my little Village, spent lately above half the time of his Homily or Sermon, in arguing against the doctrine of probable opinions. In a word, the storm and outrage against it, is grown, in a manner, not only violent, but universal: and all the faults, that are found, all the ills, that are sayd of it, are commonly put to the Jesuits account; who, in the mean time, are silent, and say nothing: you would do us no small pleasure to tell us your thoughts of this matter.

What I think of it, answers the Abbot, is, that a man, who is never so little skill'd in this thing, needs but know how to make use of the first principles of common sense and reason, to see, clearly, the great dishonesty of *Pascal*, the injustice he has done his adversaries, and the ill ways he has taken, to obtain the end, he drove at, which was to decry and run them down, and make them odious to all the world.

What terrible propositions are these you advance? sayd *Cleander*. If I do not prove them, answer'd the Abbot, I am content to be accounted by you, and by all honest men, for a knave and a calumniator: and if you can justify *Pascal* in this point, I do engage, notwithstanding the war, to go away to morrow morning,

morning, to search for Mr. *Arnauld*, in *Flanders* or in *Holland*, that I may, before him, solemnly profess and declare my self a *Jansenist*. In the mean time will you but hear me make out what I have asserted?

After, that *Cleander* and *Eudoxus* had a while jested, with the *Abbot*, about his voiage to *Flanders* and *Holland*, he began, in earnest, to prove, what he had advanc'd.

The injury, sayd he, that *Pascal* has done the *Jesuits*, do's not consist, in the reproaching them with the doctrin of probable opinions: it is chiefly in this, that he charges that doctrin upon them alone, altho they have sayd nothing in it, but what has been sayd by other Societies, even before their's was instituted, or ever thought of. For what can one think, when they see a man, by printed writings, spread, not only in *Paris*, but also all over *France*, citing and dragging the *Jesuits* before the public Tribunal, and crying out for judgment and justice, against them, in particular and by name; assuring us that he has discover'd the source and secret of all their pernicious Maxims; and pretending to convince the Divines, the Directors and Superiors of this body, of introducing, teaching, and practising a doctrin, which authoriseth the most excessive irregularities; suffers men to enjoy and gratify, freely, the most brutal of their appetites and passions; and which turns the pure laws, of Christianity into the filthy sensual Religion of *Mahomet*: calling them to an account, in a most
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pathetic manner, for the many souls they corrupt and damn every day: and, lastly, speaking of these terrible opinions, as the particular and specific doctrine of the Society; and beating, every where, an allarm against the Jesuits, and with so great a hubbub, that one could not but think, that all the Doctors and Divines, in Christendom, were to be encouraged to a *Croisade*, a war of Religion, against the most dangerous and most destructive enemy of Christianity. What idea, what character was there then given of the Jesuits? what honesty and what justice was there in all this proceeding; if it be true, that the Jesuits are as innocent as all other Orders and Divines; or if these are full as much, or more criminal than the Jesuits?

Altho the doctrine of probable opinions were as pernicious as *Pascal* pretends, and as he has persuaded a world of people to believe, by the false glosses and expositions he has given of it in his Letters, yet would the Jesuits crime have been very much lessen'd, if the reader had been advertis'd, that this doctrine was not particular to them, but the common doctrine of all the Catholic Schools, of the Divines, both of *Louvain* and of *Paris*. The world, upon this single advertisement, would, perhaps, have suspended their judgments concerning even the quality of this doctrine: and seeing it painted in such horrible colors, would have been first fully satisfi'd, before they gave their opinions, of the sincerity of him that drew it's picture,

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or made the report. And, without doubt, men cou'd not have been so unjust, as to suffer that all the curses, which so abominable an error had deserv'd, shou'd fall upon the Jesuits alone. They wou'd not have layd the whole burden on their backs, but at least have given others their share; and, perhaps, wou'd have favor'd, if not pardon'd them, for having sin'd but by the example of those, whose rank, profession and learning, had gain'd them the title and quality, of Doctors and Masters. But that, in the language of *Port-Royal*, the loose Morals, and the Jesuits Morals shou'd become synonymous expressions, and signify one and the same thing to an infinit number of people: that the Libertins and heady obstinat Devotes, and often the envious and interess'd, shou'd so understand them in their conversations, in their books and in their pulpits; and, lastly, that the cabal shou'd obtain their end, of distinguishing their own doctrin, and giving it an extraordinary luster, by opposing it, to that of all the Catholic Divines, whose footsteps the Jesuit Fathers have but trod in, is in truth an injustice one cannot see, without horror and indignation.

Mr Abbot, sayd *Eudoxus* interrupting him, no body can agree better than you do; but the proposition you lay down, must be clearly prov'd; if what you say be true, that the Jesuits doctrin is no other, than what has been taught in all the Catholic Schools of the Church, not only *Pascal*, is very unjust, in making all
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the blame of it light upon the Jesuits, but also, as you have very well observ'd, the notice, or previous knowledge of that alone, wou'd have made men think, that this doctrin in it self, is not so bad as he endeavors to make the world believe; but this is a matter of fact, for the making out of which, we shall have need of a compleat library.

If I had foreseen, reply'd the Abbot, this occasion of defending so good a cause, I shou'd have brought in my pocket all the library we shall have use for; which is but a small book of forty or fifty pages, intituled *Quæstio facti*, which plainly shews, that the doctrin of probability, is not a doctrin, particular to the Jesuits. The author recounts, and runs over all the most famous Universities of Europe, as well as the Schools of all Religious Orders; and there shews, that of all the authors, not Jesuits, who had treated, or touch'd, even by the by, the question of probable opinions, of whom he makes a very long list; he shews, I say, that to the year 1659, when he made this small piece, there was but one of them all, by name *Antony Perez*, who went a little astray in one point, from the common doctrin of all others: of which very point, in particular charity to the Jesuits, they wou'd fain give them alone the whole honor. He further adds, and proves it admirably well, that the most learned Divines of the Society have, by common consent, restrain'd this doctrin; which some preceding Doctors seem'd to have extend-

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ded too far : and at last quotes a Jesuit author *Comitolus*, for the only man, who had attack'd and fallen upon the opinions of all other Divines in the several parts of this matter : and from whom he pretends, that *Wendrok* has taken his strongest arguments, for the refutation of the doctrine of probability.

From all which, the author, of this little work, concludes two things : the first, that it is against all the laws of equity, to oblige the Jesuits to justify and make good an opinion, which was common to them, with all other Divines : the second, that if it be a glory, to have absolutely declar'd against this doctrine, this glory, till then was particular, and only due to the Jesuits : and he complains of *Wendrok*, that being so much oblig'd to this *Comitolus*, he did not do him the favor, when he quoted him, to give the reader notice, that he was a member of the Society. You are very lucky then Mr. Abbot, sayd *Cleander*, for I have in my pocket this little book you so much value ; and having spoken of it to *Eudoxus*, in our former conference, I have now brought it with me to shew him : and here it is.

The Abbot immediately took the book into his hands, and running it over with *Eudoxus*, he presently counted nine or ten Bishops, that is to say, almost all of this character, who have handled these matters, since the time of Saint *Antonin* ; who is comprehended in this number : and he also read him the passages, and the names of the books, and the number of

of the pages, whence these things, relating to this subject are taken. Afterwards he made him read the opinions of three famous Doctors of *Sorbonne*, who have publish'd whole bodyes of Divinity. Mr. *Gamache*, *Isambert*, and *Duval*; to whom this author has added Mr. *Bail*, a Doctor of the University of *Paris*, and subpenitentiary of the Cathedral Church of that City; and at last he shew'd him in the following chapters the unanimous agreement upon this point, of all the *Thomist* Doctors, *Dominicans*, and of the *Scotist Franciscans*, and other Religious Orders, together with the Universities of *Louvain*, *Salamanca* and *Alcala*, &c.

If it be so, sayd *Eudoxus*, there never was any doctrin, less particular to the Jesuits, than this doctrin of probable opinions. But Mr. Abbot, added he, have you your self seen all these passages and quotations confirm'd? and have you compar'd them with the text in the original authors quoted?

As to this, answer'd the Abbot, I will say three things: the first, that the author of this little treatise is Father *Dechamps*, a Jesuit, a very exact and sure writer, a man honor'd for his vertue with the esteem of the most illustrious persons of the Kingdom, and of such of the very Jansenists themselves, as know him: the second, that nothing has been written to prove these quotations false, now for above thirty years, since the book was publish'd, which I am very confident wou'd not have been omitted, had the author given the least ground
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for it. I know but one Divine, a *Dominican*, call'd Father *Baronius*, that objects, weakly enuff, to Father *Dechamps* some circumstances, which signify nothing to the main essential point in hand, concerning the manner wherein it is propos'd and maintain'd by this Jesuit; the third is, that of this great number of passages, I my self have examin'd and found at least thirty of them true, of which I can speak with certainty and assurance. I will shew them you, when ever you will, in two or three librariys belonging to some communities in *Paris*; where we shall also find some part of those which have not yet fallen under my hands.

Eudoxus having in his library the three *Paris* Doctors and some *Thomists*, they immediatly without further delay fell to the examining the first, every of them taking one of them in hand to search for the passages quoted in this little book.

The Abbot, having read them very often, knew the precise pages, therefore opening that volume of *Isamberts*, where he treats of Saint *Thomas's Prima secunda*, shew'd them the question of probable opinions, handled from page 133 to page 140, there this methodical Divine gives first the definitions of the terms, and tells us what a probable opinion is, and what a more probable opinion: after which he puts the question in the second article; "Whether it be lawful to follow a probable conscience, or a probable opinion: which question he himself thus answers. "When our

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"conscience

“conscience tells us, that it is probably law-
 “ful and honest, to do a thing, we cannot
 “by doing that thing be guilty of any sin:
 “this, adds he, is the common opinion of all
 “Divines: and then he propounds a second
 “proposition. When there are, says he, two
 “opinions, equally probable, touching the
 “lawfulness of doing any thing, one may safe-
 “ly follow which of the two he pleases.

In the following article he himself makes
 this objection of these two opinions, one is,
 that the thing is forbidden, the other, that it
 is permitted: the first is safe, because one can-
 not sin mortally by following it; but the se-
 cond is not certain. I answer, adds he, that it
 is lawful to follow the least sure: and I prove
 it thus.....

See the title of his fourth article. *When there
 is a dispute about the doing or not doing of a thing,
 and that there are two probable opinions thereupon,
 is it lawful, to quit that which is more probable,
 and to follow that which is less probable?* he thus
 resolves this question.

“When there are two such probable con-
 “trary opinions, that the one is more pro-
 “bable than the other, it is lawful to leave
 “the more probable, and follow that which is
 “probable.

After this he propounds some difficulties,
 and in particular this rule of law. *That in doubt-
 ful cases one is to take the surest side.* He an-
 swers, *That one must distinguish, and not confound
 doubt with opinion,* and directs his reader to the
 precedent

precedent article, where he made a more full explanation of the sense, wherein that maxim is to be understood.

Lastly in the sixth article, num. 8. "When there are, says he, two opinions, one probable, the other more probable, and that this also is more safe, and the other less safe, about my obligation of doing a thing that relates to my self: I am not oblig'd by the charity which I ow my self, to act by the more probable and more safe opinion; but I may without sin, quit the more safe opinion, and follow that opinion which is probable, tho less safe; as before I have shewn.

Certainly, sayd *Eudoxus*, after he had read this passage; *Father Dechamps* has, not only, not made *Isambert* say too much, but has even forgot a great deal of what he had written.

This is not yet all, answer'd the Abbot; let us see what this Doctor says, upon the consequences or dependances of the doctrine of probabilities. Whereupon he read the fifth article: where the author demands; whether a Doctor, consulted in a case of conscience, may answer according to the probable opinion, and not according to the more probable, altho he himself were of this last opinion: after he had clear'd and expounded the several senses or meanings, wherein this question might be taken, he answer'd. "That a Doctor thus consulted, was to consider the circumstances of the matter, which may happen to be such, that he may not only answer according to the
" less

“less probable opinion, against the more probable, but that also it might be imprudent to do otherwise.

Let us go on a little further, continu’d the Abbot, and read the eighth and ninth article. The title of the first was. *Is it lawful to act against ones own opinion, and follow that of others? the meaning of this article is, &c.* *Ifambert* adds. “Those that hold, that this is lawful, of whose opinion I am, do follow the common doctrine, which is not that of *Adrian*, but is the opinion of almost all *Saint Thomas’s* Interpreters.

The title of the ninth article is. *Whether a man be sometimes oblig’d to follow the probable opinion of others, contrary to his own, which also is probable.*

“The answer is, that there are some cases, wherein it is not only lawful, to act, against one’s own opinion, but also where a Man is bound in conscience, to act according to the probable opinion of another, contrary to his own, tho’ this also be suppos’d probable? and such may be the case of a Confessor, that hears the confession of a penitent, whose probable opinion, upon some points of his confession, is contrary to his own: and that also of an inferior, commanded by his superior to do a thing probably lawful, but which, in the opinion of the inferior, is not probably lawful. The Confessor is oblig’d, according to *Ifambert*, to follow the opinion of his penitent, and the inferior, that of his superior.

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And take notice, adds the Abbot, that *Ifambert* quotes Saint *Antonin* for his opinion, only with this restriction, that if the Confessor be the penitent's Pastor, he is oblig'd to comply with the penitents probable opinion, and absolve him; but if the penitent be not of his flock, one of his parish, he may then refuse to give him absolution.

That which you now say, answer'd *Eudoxus*, seems to me a little hard: but the authority of Saint *Antonin*, and the reasons with which Mr. *Ifambert* supports his opinion, persuades me, at least, to believe, that it is not so easy, as one may think, to give a positive judgment in these matters. As far as I see, continu'd he, if *Pascal* had but taken the fancy in his Provincial Letters, to make Mr. *Ifambert* speak in the name of the *Sorbonne*, instead of the good Jesuit that speaks in the name of the Society, he wou'd have found matter enuff to have made him act the same kind of part.

He might have made, reply'd the Abbot, if he had had a mind to it, even Saint *Thomas* himself say as ridiculous things, as those he has put into the Jesuits mouth: for this, it wou'd have been enuff to have only propounded, and handsomly put into order, several points of this learned Saints doctrine, as he has done the Jesuits: without setting down the proofs, the restrictions, the explications, and the necessary precautions for making the practice of them lawful. But I will yet further suppose, that if a libertine wou'd make a col-

lection of all the false propositions, that have slip'd from the holy Fathers, and give besides to some of their other expressions, the ill sense of which they are capable, mangle and dismember some passages, and leave out, 'or put in, here and there, a few words, he might make a book of them, much bigger than the Provincial Letters; and might as justly intitle it. *The Religion and Morals of the Fathers* as a certain book was formerly call'd, *The Moral Divinity of the Jesuits*, of which the Provincial Letters are but extracts, enlarg'd upon. And another of a much greater extent which has been since publish'd under the name of *The Jesuits Morals*. And which was also publicly burnt at Paris, in the year 1670, upon the testimony of several of the Doctors of Sorberne, for a scurrilous defamatory libel, full of impostures, calumnies, falsifications and heresies, &c. it was, as is sayd, the work of the deceas'd Doctor Perrault, Brother to your Perrault the author of *Parallele de Anciens & des Modernes*.

I am no longer astonish'd, sayd Cleander, that the Provincial Letters shou'd have put this man into such raptures and extravagant fits of enthusiasm: both the Brothers were I perceive possess'd and animated by the same kind of spirit. But let us I pray, sayd the Abbot, return to our business. The question, at present, is not whether the doctrin taught by Mr. Isambert, be good or bad doctrin: the merit and reputation of this great Divine ought, at least, to oblige us to suspend our judgment a while.

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The point we are now upon, and, by what you see with your own eyes, is most certain, is, that the *Sorbonne*, as learned and as Catholic then as at this day, heard, without horror, a doctrine, daily instil'd from their chairs which being found in the Jesuits books they wou'd make pass for a dangerous and cursed doctrine. But give me leave, and I will, in a moment, find the places you seek for in Mr. *Du-val* and Mr. *Gamache*.

I have found this in Mr. *Gamathe*, sayd *Cleander*; it is in the 155 page, and not in 153 as Father *Dechamps* Printer has plac'd it.

His first assertion is. "That in the court of conscience a man is not oblig'd to follow the more probable opinion, it is enuff to follow an opinion absolutely probable, approv'd by learned men, till such time as the Church declares against it, or that the Divines reject and banish it from their Schools. *Navar. Medina*. But, in the mean time, one must take care, not to give scandal to the weak, by his exterior actions and must likewise have a regard to custom.

Who are these weak, sayd *Eudoxus* interrupting him, are they not the Jansenists, who are so much scandalis'd at this doctrine? O my God answer'd the Abbot, the Pharisaic scandal, which in Divinity they oppose to the scandal of the weak, is, much more to be fear'd for them. You are always severe and ill humor'd towards the Jansenists, reply'd *Cleander*, but suffer me, I pray you, to make an end of

this passage, there are but two words more in it.

“His second assertion is. That the Confessor, “whether the proper Pastor, or one deputed “by him, may absolve his penitents against his “own opinion, when they are of an opinion “both less certain and less safe; provided it be “a probable opinion and back’d with the au- “thority of some Catholic and learned authors; “and in this case, he not only may, but is “also bound to give them absolution.

Here is certainly enuff of this, sayd *Eudoxus*, let us see, whether Mr. *Du-val* will say as much. Here I have the place ready; it is in his treatise of human actions. q. 4. a. 12. p. 115. in the paragraph intitl’d *quid agendum sit in conscientia opinativa*. Where he has, almost word for word, the same expressions which Mr. *Garnache* has made use of.

“The second conclusion is, that in the “Court of conscience a man is not oblig’d to “follow the more probable opinion, but it is “sufficient to follow one, that is probable, “and approv’d by able and learned persons, “altho’ contrary to the sense of other learned “men; which yet is to be understood with “some restriction: that is to say, that this opi- “nion is no more to be follow’d, if the “Church determin the contrary, or the Di- “vines banish it from their Schools. It is the “opinion of *Medina* and *Navar* in cap. *siquis de* “*penit.* Where they positively teach, that there “is no obligation, to follow the more safe opi- “nion,

"nion, and that it is enuff to follow an opinion which is safe.

Whilst *Eudoxus*, with *Cleander*, was reading the remaining part of *Du-val's* doctrine, about probable opinions, the Abbot meeting with Mr. *Bail's* book *de triplici examine* spake to them in these words. Let us, I pray you, do this Doctor of *Paris* also the honor of consulting him, he was subpenitentiary of our Lady's Church, a man, much valued, and very fit for his employment; thus he writes upon this subject. "Altho many do universally teach in "all parts of the Church, that one may, in "conscience, safely follow the less probable "opinion; it seems to me notwithstanding that "this doctrine ought to be limited and restrain'd "to the matter of precepts, and not extended "to the matter of Sacraments. These words are in the 47 page of his fifth edition *de examine panitentium*. You understand what he would be at. He pretends, that a man may not follow the less probable opinion, in a doubt relating to the matter of Sacraments, for some particular reasons, but only when the matter doubted of, relates to precepts, or commands, or to the knowledge, whether such or such a thing be lawful or not lawful.

But let us see what he says in the foregoing page, where he speaks like a wise man, who perceiv'd, that this doctrine might be mistaken and do mischief, by accounting an opinion probable, that was not probable; but who, at the same time, shews himself persuaded, that an opinion,

opinion, when certainly probable, may be follow'd: "For which cause, sayd he, it seems
 "to me, that the doctrin of probability, which
 "is become the common doctrin, has not been
 "yet clear'd and disentangled from difficulties,
 "as much as the importance of the matter do's
 "require and deserve. I wish some able Di-
 "vines wou'd take the pains, to consider and
 "resolve all the intricacies and objections which
 "attend it. Not that I am not perswaded, but
 "that he who follows a probable opinion, go's
 "a sure way, how convenient soever it may ap-
 "pear: for that way is sure, which makes us
 "avoid sin, and any opinion, which is truly
 "probable, tho the less probable of two, will
 "notwithstanding secure us from sin. I do
 "hold, and am perswaded, that a man is freed
 "before God from sin, by following a probable
 "opinion, and that he cannot be thereby
 "guilty, even, of a venial sin. What say you
 now to this?

That which I say to it, answer'd *Cleander*, is, that, most certainly, *Pascal* and those who furnish'd him with memoirs studied only among the Jesuits, and had read no other but their Divines. Besides Mr. *Arnauld* cou'd not possibly have seen the Provincial Letters before they were publish'd. For with what conscience cou'd he suffer the Jesuits to be defam'd, for the authors of a doctrin, he himself saw publicly taught in *Sorbonne*, by the Professors of his own time? but for his having since endeavor'd, as he still daily do's, to make these Letters

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gain credit, be more and more valued, and their contents improv'd, to the prejudice of the Jesuits, there must surely be some strong reasons we are ignorant of: for extraordinary persons, who exceed the common rate of men, and are engag'd in mighty matters, as the heads or leaders of a great party, whose reputation they are to support, may possibly have, for themselves, some particular rules of conscience, which all the world have not a right to follow.

What, sayd the Abbot, after such evident matters of fact, as these we have read, will you not plainly own as I do, that *Pascal*, *Arnauld*, and all other heads of the party who in this, and things of like nature, cannot sin thro' ignorance, are downright cheats and perfect hypocrites, that abuse the public credulity, malicious and invenom'd men against their adversaries, who spare nothing they can think of, to destroy their reputation? to what end are all these shiftings, do's not the thing speak of it self, and do not I plainly perceive what your thoughts are?

One must not always say what he thinks, answer'd *Cleander*, and *Eudoxus* has yet sayd less of the matter than I.

I am almost angry, reply'd *Eudoxus*, at this wicked Abbot: who has turn'd all my notions topsie-turvie; I was in a very good humor, and well dispos'd to make you and my self some sport with these good Fathers, the Jesuits, upon the subject of probabilities; and now I begin to feel some remorse of conscience,

ence, for the rash judgments I formerly made, a thousand times, of them.

I have not yet done with you, sayd the Abbot. I have still matter enuff to shew you, to encrease your scruples: but before I come to that, or make you see that the *Thomists*, the *Scotists*, and almost all other Divines, speak upon this point, the language of the *Sorbonists*, and have, with them, and the Jesuits, an equal right, to share in the fine title of the corrupters of Morals. I will read you an admirable and remarkable passage of *Wendrok* upon this occasion, in his notes on the Provincial Letters. You know, that these notes were read, corrected and approv'd, by *Pascal* himself; reach me down I pray you *Wendroks* book.

wendrok
in prolo-
quio.

The Jesuits, continu'd the Abbot, made lowd complaints of the injustice done 'um, by designing to make them, alone, answerable, for all the real, or pretended relaxations in Divinity. Them I say, who taught nothing in Morals, but the common doctrin, and who, being the last comers, did but tread in the paths trac'd out, by those that went before them. Upon this *Wendrok* makes a large common place, and pronounces this fine sentence. That having partners do's not excuse a crime: and afterwards adds. *Pascal* wou'd have been well employ'd indeed, and spent his time to good purpose, in gathering together, and reading so many impertinent books, to find out, whether the Jesuits only were wicked and infamous fellows, *An soli Jesuita flagitiosi fuerint.*

So

made, So Mr. *Nicole* expresses himself in latin. Al-
tho the Jesuits, continued he, had taken their
e Ab- relaxations from some others, yet notwithstand-
you, ing, in reason, they ought to be reputed the
come authors of them. Why? because, that these
ts, the pernicious doctrines had layn hid in some corner
speak of a library, known to very few, and, by con-
onists, sequence, cou'd not do much hurt: but the
equal Jesuits have drawn them out of their lurking
rrup- holes, and preach'd them upon the house tops;
rable introduc'd them into Princes Courts, to privat
a this men's houses, the Courts of Judicature and the
rters. Magistracy. Behold, added the Abbot, the
cor- writings of an infinity of Divines put into the
reach number of impertinent books, and the Doctors
and Professors of *Sorbonne*, accounted men of
owd no value or consideration: their Divinity
de- School compar'd to that of the Jesuits, is but
for like a small Village in comparison of *Paris*, and
Divi- what their famous and most illustrious Doctors
g in have taught, both by word of mouth, and by
ho, prints, is like a chip in pottage and do's nei-
the ther good nor harm.

Let us proceed to other things, sayd *Eudoxus*
interrupting him: this is really very insolent
and extravagant.

The Abbot sayd no more upon this article,
but contented himself with this first victory, in
favor of truth, and a right sense of things, in
opposition to calumny and a foolish obstinat
opinion. For *Eudoxus*, as naturally just as he
was, was still a little headstrong and the more,
that *Cleander*, who had read the Divines, and
perceiv'd

perceiv'd that the Abbots reflexions might stand them in good stead, in the examination they had undertaken to make, judg'd fit to take the advantage of it. Mr. Abbot, sayd he to him, we must not stand still in so fair a road: let us go on I pray, and tell us your thoughts and all you know of this matter.

With all my heart, sayd the Abbot, and I will propose to you a second matter of fact, for the truth of which, I will, upon the hazard of my honor, be answerable; it is, that *Pascal* and his friends have made of probable opinion a meer scarecrow, a man of straw, for the pleasure and the ease of fighting it, with the greater advantage, and of making the Jesuits father a monstrous opinion which never was their own.

For at last, by the favor and assistance of these opinions which *Pascal* combats, *One Doctor*, if people will believe him, may turn and wind mens consciences, backwards and forwards, just as he pleases, and always securely: make new rules of Morals. A Christian may without any hazard estrange himself from the rules, which the Scripture, the Councils and the Fathers have prescrib'd us; and an infidel and a heretic may safely continue in their false Religion. This, without doubt, is very horrible, and cursed be the poyson'd fountain of a doctrine, so fatal to Christianity. But who do's *Pascal* and his translator aim at? for I pray observe, what are the two general conditions, that the Jesuits do require, to make an opinion probable, and that a Divine may hold it for such? first, it must not be contrary

Lett. 5.

Lett. 6.

Lett. 5.

wendrok
in not. ad
epist. 5.

to the rules of faith; nor, in general, contain any thing opposit to the truths receiv'd by the Church, nor be contrary to evident and right reason. In the second place, it must be supported with good reasons, and not lightly undertaken to be defended, against the common and ordinary opinion of Doctors. These certainly are bounds, which limit and restrain a Casuist, if any one shou'd happen to desire it, from being able to make *New rules of Morals*. How is it possible for men, that take for a rule this notion, which the Jesuits give in their definitions, of a probable opinion, *To go astray without danger from the maxims, which the Scripture, the Councils, and the Fathers have mark'd out for us? how can a heretic or an infidel continue safely in his false Religion?* are the truths, receiv'd, and allow'd of by the Church, different from those, which the Scripture, the Fathers and the Councils teach us? or can any men, respect, or set a value on the first, without taking the second for a rule?

If they shou'd say, that the Jesuits have not observ'd these rules, nor follow'd their own definitions, and cou'd prove their having done so, without cutting off and falsifying their passages, or stitching several of them together; which, being joyn'd, seem to signify just contrary, to what they really signify, when they are severally read in their proper places; I shou'd be one of the first to oppose and condemn them. But let them not say, that their principles are monsters, which bring forth other monsters:

monitors: nor from the silly things, that *Pascal* has made his Jesuit speak, in his fifth and sixth Letters, draw, as he do's, conclusions, as impertinent and as extravagant, as they are false and wicked.

Eudoxus did, in this also, approve the Abbot's reasoning; but yet desir'd, he wou'd prove the definition he had given of a probable opinion: for *Wendrok*, says he, disputes the thing, and very few in the world are perswaded, that the Jesuits principles in this matter, are so restrain'd, limited and narrow.

The reason is, answer'd the Abbot, because most people read only the Provincial Letters, and the translator of these Letters, and that either they will not, or commonly cannot consult the Jesuits books. An other reason is, they do not know, that *Wendrok*, in disputing this matter of fact, is, not sincere; and I will immediatly convince you of it. I have in my closet some extracts, upon this subject, drawn by my self, out of the most famous Jesuit Divines: I'll step home and fetch them.

The Abbot, who dwelt hard by, being gone out, *Cleander* and *Eudoxus* began to make many reflexions. With all our love for truth, sayd *Eudoxus*, I know not, whether we shou'd have been able, without the Abbot's help, to have got over all these rubs; since *Pascal* and *Wendrok* have so imbroid'd and perplex'd things, and that the matter it self is so hard, to be clearly discuss'd, and that the too strait-lac'd and overstrain'd Morals are supported, by such plausible
and

and specious maxims; when on the contrary, the truly Christian Morals are built upon maxims, of which some appear very strange and unfit to be follow'd or receiv'd before they are well weigh'd and consider'd, which is hard to be done by common understandings: these Gentlemen knew very well, how to take the advantage, by the opposition they have made between the one and the other. Moreover, they speak with so bold and confident an air, that one is, almost, afraid to doubt of what they say: and they have so train'd up, and accustom'd a world of people to talk as they do, that their most unlikely and improbable paradoxes are, almost, become the public common opinion.

It was not only, answer'd *Cleander*, the difficulty of the matter, nor some outward appearances, which they knew how to improve, that gave them so much advantage over the Jesuits. These Fathers did, in truth, make answers which were sufficiently strong and solid; but so flat and ill put together (I speak of those which came out first) that there was no comparison between one of *Pascals* Letters, and the *First answer to the Jansenists Letters*. He got thereby such a superiority over them, that he no more look'd upon them, as adversaries he was still fighting with, but as despicable people, baffled, foild, and thrown to the ground, trampling them under foot with equal scorn and contempt.

It is very true, sayd *Eudoxus*, that the Gentlemen of *Port-Royal* gain'd wonderfully by this

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weakness:

weakness: but is it possible, that the Jesuits of those days had no body that cou'd write?

Father *le Moyne*, answer'd *Cleander*, was still living, and I am surpriz'd, they did not oppose him to *Pascal*: this Father had an excellent fancy and a world of wit: and his way of writing, was lively, smart and florid: he had, besides, a good reputation among the most ingenious and best accomplish'd persons: and the apologetic manifest, which he writ several years before against the book, call'd *La Theologie Morale des Jésuites*, was as much in vogue, as his Curry-comb for the Jansenist *Pegasus*.

Perhaps, reply'd *Eudoxus*, the Society did believe, he was not like to outdo or equal *Pascal's* stile, at once so easy, and so delicate. For Father *le Moyne's* great fault was, that his words were not well chosen, or very proper, that he us'd not to dress, set out and embellish his thoughts, with various, neat, and quaint expressions: that he was always witty, but never endeavor'd, to express himself plainly, or familiarly: and it may be, he himself did not think, he was an equal match for him, in this kind of combat, and therefore was not willing to engage. But whatever the matter was then, 'tis plain the Jesuits do not, now want, store of good writers, and that they knew how to be gainers by their first defeat. Within ten or eleven years after the Provincial Letters were publish'd, there came forth a Letter to a Lord at Court.....

The author of that is known, sayd *Cleander*,
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interrupting him, and the man of the world the Society ought, at that time, to have set up in opposition to *Pascal*. He understood raillery very well, and wou'd not have been troubled or vex'd as the Jesuits then were; but wou'd have given him as good as he brought, a Rowland for his Oliver, and have answer'd him in the same tone and language. Had this been done, the people wou'd, at least, have compar'd the Letters and the Answers: whereas in those days they hardly regarded what became of the Jesuits. But for these nine or ten years past, they have both defended themselves and attack'd their adversaries, with vigor: and without speaking of *The defence of the new Christians and the Missioners of China*, which gave the party a wound that still bleeds: you may remember that upon the subject of *The Philosophic sin*, there were four or five small books made, in behalf of the Jesuits, which were extreamly well receiv'd, and with good reason: for they fell upon Mr. *Atnauld*, and his friends just where they shou'd, where they lay most open, caught them fast, and wou'd not let go their hold, but still pursuing their advantage, they did not only fully disprove them, but also took them up roundly, and told them their own to some purpose: bringing them always back to certain unanswerable points: as for example, to the submission which they ow, but do not pay, to the lawful powers, and to some notorious palpable falsifications, of which they were convicted, beyond the possibility of a reply.

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istes.

All this is inconvenient for these Gentlemen, who love not to be upon the defensive, and who find it much easier to attack others, than to defend themselves. But now concerning the Jesuits, who ventur'd to write against *Pascal*, what think you of Father *Annat*; the author of the book call'd *Jansenist sincerity*, and to whom the seventeenth and eighteenth Provincial Letters are directed?

Father *Annat*, answer'd *Cleander*, was, in my opinion, an excellent wit: and the Jesuits have publish'd nothing better, than what was written by him, upon the matters which were then in dispute. This honest good man (who besides these two virtues, possessed that also of modesty, in the highest perfection possible) had a talent for writing, even in *French*, if he had a little more apply'd himself to the study of our language; there fell from his pen, from time to time, as fine, as lively, as pleasant and agreeable strokes as ever I saw in my life.

I am of your opinion, sayd *Eudoxus*; and without saying any thing of his virtue, which I have heard commended, even by this very party, I have found him, as you have done, very exact in his judgment, and sometimes to express himself with great quaintness and railery, which, let me tell you, is a thing very rare and extraordinary for a School Divine.

Cleander and *Eudoxus* were entertaining one another in this manner, when the Abbot return'd: and took out of his letter case, a piece which justified the matters of fact he had asserted.

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asserted. This was a collection, of passages, concerning the doctrine of probable opinions, extracted out of the books of several Jesuit Divines, and, especially, out of those which Pascal in his Letters treats so very scurvily.

My paper, says he, begins very properly with reference to the business in hand: it is out of Layman, whom Wendrok quotes in his notes upon the fifth Provincial Letter, to shew, that the Jesuits were in the wrong, when they complain'd that their doctrine was alter'd, on purpose to make it odious: he ought to be satisfied, that we govern our selves, in this matter, by the testimony he himself gives us, of the matter of fact. These are this Jesuits own words.

A probable opinion, according to the common notion, may be defin'd. *An opinion which is not certain, but which, notwithstanding, is founded upon a considerable authority, or upon some important reason: and an opinion ought to be judg'd, supported by a considerable authority, when it is, at least, the opinion of a learned, and an honest man.* Wendrok cites only this place in Layman, to shew, that the Jesuits had no reason to complain of the consequences drawn from their principles: from whence it was concluded; That a Doctor may turn and overturn men's consciences as he thinks fit, and make new rules of Morals: that by this means a Christian may estrange himself without fear of punishment, from the rules prescrib'd us, by the Scripture, the Councils, and the Fathers.

Layman.
tra. 1.
cap. 5.
parag. 2.
num. 6.

Altho Layman shou'd have sayd no more than this, answer'd Cleander, interrupting him, *Wendrok's* arguments wou'd have prov'd but weak and silly: for by giving this Doctor, as Layman has done, the quality of an honest and a learned man, it is clear, that, morally speaking, he wou'd not have gone astray in his decisions, either from the doctrine of the Scripture, or the Church. One ought to presume that he, who is learned, cannot be ignorant of this doctrine; and that he, who is a man of probity, wou'd not corrupt it: and if, of my self, I am not capable to judge of the matter, supposing he has these two qualities, I act prudently in following his decision.

Layman
ibid.

This is the very reflexion, reply'd the Abbot, that Layman made, and that *Wendrok* shou'd have made when he read him. It is nevertheless necessary, adds Layman, that this Doctor shou'd not have taken up this opinion rashly, or inconsiderately, but after weighing and examining the reasons for the contrary opinion, and this is, what others, and especially those who are unlearned ought commonly to suppose.

Hold, sayd Eudoxus, I have here the case of conscience of Mr. *Sainte-Beuve*; who, if I well remember, sayd expressly, that regularly speaking, and without having a particular reason to do otherwise, a man ought, without doubting or hesitation, to follow the decision of a person of this character. It is in the first tome, pag. 517, and the 169 case. Where this question is put; *Whether one runs the hazard of*
his

his salvation by depending upon the judgment of a learned and a pious man: which he thus answers. That one may with a safe conscience, stick to the resolutions of a man, known to be learned and pious; unless he have some particular reason to doubt the truth of his decisions. I will mark this passage, adds he, that I may some time or other shew it to Mr. Nicole.

But Layman stops not there, continu'd the Abbot: for see what he adds, for those that are capable of judging the opinions of Casuists. "But one ought not, sayd he, to call that, a probable opinion, which one or more Doctors have invented, contrary to the common opinion; and which others, upon examination, have unanimously rejected, as an improbable and particular opinion; induc'd thereunto by good reasons, or by the decrees of the higher powers, which the first either had not heeded, or cou'd not solidly answer. One may see what Saint Thomas, Sylvester and Navar say upon this point.

"In the second place I say, that an opinion is probable, when it is supported by such a strong reason, as is persuasive enuff to make it to be believ'd, conformable to truth; and this is to be understood in reference to a learned man, who understands the matter, and has well weigh'd and consider'd the principles of the contrary opinion, (tho by others commonly receiv'd) and fully refuted them. Vasquez, Sanchez, and Azor..... do teach this doctrine. But, notwithstanding, it

“ must be limited and restrain’d by this condition : that other Doctors, coming afterwards to examin this particular opinion, shou’d not look upon it, as improbable, and an erroneous opinion.

Certainly, sayd *Eudoxus*, nothing can be wiser, better circumscrib’d, or more restrain’d than this : and with these conditions I see no manner of danger in this proposition. *That the authority of one grave Doctor may make an opinion probable.*

This is not all, answer’d the Abbot ; before these restrictions are apply’d to any matter of this kind, which, like all other Moral matters, are subject to be abus’d, and as subject also to contempt, as to calumny, because it is necessary to have regard to a thousand little nice circumstances, the omission, or addition of any one of which, is, sometimes, sufficient to render this doctrin odious : before all this, I say, *Layman*, at the beginning of the same page, had layd down this principle.

Valentia
1. 2. disp.
2. q. 12.
p. 5. q. 1.

“ But, sayd he, from the moment, that one of the two opposit opinions appears evident, by reason, or certain, by the rule of faith, the other can, by no means, appear any longer probable ; as *Valentia* has very well observ’d, who also, sayd the Abbot, was a Jesuit.

I leave you to think, continu’d the Abbot, if a probable opinion, which according to the Jesuits, ceases to be probable, and becomes improbable, as soon as it appears contrary, to what we are ascertain’d of, by faith, can destroy the

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the Morals of the Scripture, the Fathers and the Church: or, if the principles, and definitions of a probable opinion, from which *Pascal* draws so many fine consequences, are the principles and definitions of the Jesuits: and whether *Wendrok* ought to have chosen *Laymans's* doctrine, for an example of loose Morals in this kind; or to shew, that these Fathers had no reason to complain of *Pascal's* unfaithfulness, in reporting their opinions: for, even in the two lines, which he cites, mangled and disjoyned as they are, there is enuff to justify this Divine, and to refute all the ridiculous conclusions he sets down, as natural consequences of this principle. At the same time *Eudoxus* and *Cleander* read *Wendrok's* note upon the place, and being surpriz'd at his impudence and falshood, cou'd not forbear shrugging up their shoulders.

The other quotations are shorter, sayd the Abbot: who immediatly read them the passage in *Suarez*; where this Divine requires two conditions, for the making an opinion probable. "The first, that it be not repugnant to the "authorities receiv'd in the Church, nor to any "evident reason; and that it be not rashly "taken up, contrary to the common and ordinary opinions of Doctors. The second, that "it be built, upon some certain and solid foundation.

Suarez
tract. 3.
in l. 2.
disp. 12.
sect. 5.

Let us now see what *Azor*, another Jesuit, says, concerning the choice a man ought to make of opinions. "One may consider them, "says he, two ways: either with reference to "the

“the *exterior court*, or with reference to the
 “*interior court* of conscience. I will first speak
 “of the choice one ought to make of opinions
 “in the *exterior court*; and I will afterwards
 “explain, what opinion one ought to follow in
 “the *interior court* of conscience.

“The first rule is, that, from the moment
 “there is any judgment, or definition of faith
 “made, in clear and exprefs terms, whatever
 “may be sayd to the contrary, by the gravest
 “Doctors, the opinion that is founded upon
 “this judgment, or definition of faith, or
 “comes nearest to it, is to be held altogether
 “true and certain, without giving themselves
 “any trouble, on account of those Doctors
 “opinions.

That is very positive, sayd *Endoxus*, and this
 rule secures the doctrine of faith, and the Mo-
 rals of the Gospel. But observe, that according
 to your text, this Jesuit speaks there of the
 choice of opinions in the *exterior court*; and the
 main question between us is, about the choice
 of opinions in the *interior court* of conscience.

A little patience, and you shall soon be satis-
 fied, answer'd the Abbot. After *Azor* had set
 down several other rules concerning the ex-
 terior court, in the beginning of the sixteenth
 chapter he thus speaks. “Let us now see, in
 “a few words, what opinion one may choose
 “in the *interior court* of conscience: it is first
 “demanded, whether the rules given from the
 “ninth to the thirteenth chapter, ought also
 “to be observ'd in the court of conscience; and
 “answer'd;

“answer’d; the three first, to wit, those set
“down in the ninth, tenth and eleventh are
“to be kept in the court of conscience also;
“because they there take place, and are as use-
“ful as in the *exterior court*, which is a thing
“clear of it self.

The rule that I have now read you, con-
tinued the Abbot, is the first in the ninth
chapter. Let us read *Filiucius*.

He is one of the four and twenty old men;
sayd *Cleander* laughing.

Yes, answer’d the Abbot, and one of those,
to whom *Pascal* do’s the honor to name and
quote, to prove the disorders which follow the
doctrin of probable opinions: however, let us
read what he says upon the matter before us.

“It thence follows, that to the end, an opi-
“nion may be probable, it must be generally
“esteem’d to contain nothing erroneous, nor
“to be contrary to any Canon, or Decree of
“Superiors. Let us also look upon *Reginaldus*
who do’s but transcribe *Azor*.

Filiucius
tract. 2.
de Decal.
cap. 4.
num. 163.

Reginald.
lib. 13.
cap. 2.
num. 103.

We have already seen enuff on this point,
sayd *Eudoxus*; but I wou’d be glad to know,
whether the Jesuits have transgress’d the bounds
prescrib’d by themselves.

Hold; we are not yet come so far, sayd the
Abbot interrupting him in some anger: and
before we get thither, you must own, that your
Pascal, and his second, have made the world be-
lieve so; when seeming to explain the doctrin
of the Jesuits, which they rather ought to have
call’d, the doctrin of all Catholic Divines, who
till

till then had written upon this subject, they conceal all the modifications and restrictions of this doctrin, on purpose, that they might draw from it, most dreadful consequences; which they not only do, but also have the impudence to assert, that by the doctrin of probabilities, and by the latitude the Society gives to probable opinions, they have banish'd out of Moral Divinity the Gospel and the Canons, to substitute in their place, the new notions and ideas of the Schools of these times.

The Jesuits had in general defin'd, a probable opinion, *An opinion back'd, and supported by considerable authority, or by some important reason, against which there was nothing convincing to be offer'd.* And, as if they had been Heathens, who did not reckon the authority of Scripture and the Councils in the number of convincing things, they reproach'd them, as if they had not made the Scripture, the Councils or the Fathers the rule of their decisions, but govern'd mens consciences by caprice, by wild and extravagant fancies, and the vain subtilties of their Doctors.

Yes, I dare say it, continu'd the Abbot somewhat incens'd, and I will justify it too: that, according to the common, ordinary method of the Jesuit Divines (out of which number I except some few Compilers, and some Abridgers, who have another end than the authors themselves whom they abridge) there is not one decision, of any case of conscience, that can have the Scripture, the Councils and the Fathers

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Fathers for a rule, where these sort of arguments do not lead the Van, or are not first to be seen before all others: or where the passages of Scripture, the Canons of Councils, the Decretals of Popes, and the Civil Law, when pertinent to the point, do not make their main essential proofs, or at least the subject of their dissertations, when under any difficulty; and that never any authors went further, or waded deeper in the pure springs and fountains of Morals, than the principal Jesuit Divines. Witness *Azor*, *Suarez*, *Vasquez*, *Layman*, *Lessius*, and *Thomas Sanchez*. You need but open their books, to shew the falshood and the vanity of all these foolish impostures; of which there is no other proof, than the sayings and invectives of their calumniating Adversaries.

There is some pleasure Mr. Abbot in angring of you, answer'd *Eudoxus* laughing: and it is the Jesuits interest, that we shou'd sometimes provoke you: you have told us wonders. And I cannot but own my self convinc'd, that, in reality, things have been outrageously exaggerated: that the author of the Provincial Letters has run too fast, and that the good simple Jesuit, who speaks in them, had no Letter of Atturmy, no authority, from the Society, to say and grant all the impertinences, which *Pascal* has put into his mouth.

That is not a sufficient satisfaction for Mr. Abbot, sayd *Cleander*, he wou'd have things call'd by their proper names, a spade a spade: you agreed with him a little while ago, that it
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was a meer calumny, to impute to the Jesuits, as a crime, their teaching a doctrine, that had been taught by all the Bishops, who treated of that subject, and before they were in being, by all the Professors of *Sorbonne*, who have printed any books of Divinity, by the *Thomists*, the *Scotists*, the University of *Louvain*, and almost by all Divines. He also pretends, that it was yet a greater piece of malice, to disfigure and misrepresent this doctrine; to have given such a false and horrible idea of it; and to have lam'd, or fallily interpreted the definitions, for no other end, but that they might draw from them the most dreadful consequences imaginable. You call this to exaggerate, and he pretends that it is to corrupt, to poison, to ly and to calumniat.

Mr. Abbot, answers *Eudoxus* interrupting him: this is but a dispute about words. We both think the same thing, and so do's *Cleander* too: this ought therefore to satisfy you, and encourage you, to communicate, what you farther know in this matter, since you see we have profited so well by what you have already told us.

I might yet make you a great many remarks upon this subject, sayd the Abbot: but I profess to you, that I have much ado to hold, when I see *Pascal* and *Wendrok* treat, unworthily and unhandſomly, upon this occasion, under the name of Casuists, so great a number of persons, famous for their learning, and for their vertue, honored in their time, and respected
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by the most eminent, and the most holy men, that were in the Church of God. In vain, to make themselves less odious and better believ'd, do they pretend to have no design, but against the Jesuits, whose destruction they aim'd at, and against a few others, whom they were not solicitous to treat with respect. *In this cloud of* In Epist. 5. sect. 6. *Casuits*, as *Wendrok* expresses it, and insolently S. 1. compares them to that multitude of frogs, which cover'd *Egypt*, when *Pharao* was King, of whom the Jesuits were but the smallest number, and to whom the paths were beaten out, by persons, whose character in the Church was always venerable to all true Catholics: I mean, the most learned Bishops of their time, the most remarkable Doctors, and the most famous Canonists: among whom is to be seen *Saint Antonin* Archbishop of *Florence*; who, in the point of probability, is just of the same opinion with others, notwithstanding all the falsehoods *Wendrok* is guilty of in this article, which so much disturbs and confounds him; and all the artifices he makes use of, to disguise the contempt he himself has, and which he wou'd have others have, of this holy Divine.

And if some Jesuits, as *Suarez*, *Vasquez*, *Sanchez*, *Lessius*, &c. are sometimes quoted in the writings of Divines, together with other eminent men, it is not, because that in their books, *There is neither piety nor learning*, as they have impudently given out, but because, that piety and learning are joyn'd with as much clearness, solidity and order, as in the works of

Wendrok
loco cita-
to. §. 1.

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the most able Doctors. But for this, we must not take either *Pascals* or *Wendrok's* words, nor theirs, who have not read the works of these Jesuit Divines; but we may be assur'd, that the most learned, and most sound part of the *Sorbonne* Professors will own this truth; and that it will also be acknowledg'd, by all those of *Louvain*, except the Disciples of *Baius* and *Janfenius*: by the most learned Prelats of this Kingdom, by the grave experienc'd Penitentiarys or Confessors, who to their great advantage, have frequent recourse to them; and by the Popes, who have given great elogiums and commendations to several of them. But we may in the last place refer our selves, to the testimonies, formerly given, by their own Body, of their vertue and their sanctity; testimonies so much the less to be suspected, that no body then foresaw, or cou'd guess, that Doctors so Catholic, and commonly so exact, and so solid as these, shou'd ever be attack'd for the corrupters of Morals by a *Pascal*, or a *Wendrok*.

For I pray you, continued the Abbot, let us quite lay aside all prejudices, and impartially consider, what is this *Pascal* and what is this *Wendrok*, in the matters we are now upon. *Wendrok* has publish'd some Moral Essays, *Pascal* understood some parts of Mathematics, and was polite. These two, oppose, in the same peremptory tone, the Fathers, to the Morals of the Jesuits, to the decisions of the Church, and to the determinations of the *Sorbonne*. The first had never seen, or read the Fathers, but with
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the eyes of the chief of *Port-Royal*, and the other, is so very weak, that he is really to be pitied, when he offers at any point of Divinity. The first wins upon his readers, only by his talent of buffoonry, of jesting and fooling: the second imposes upon some, by his confidence and his boldness: but, indeed, it is strange he should be able to impose upon any, considering that he never, almost, expresses himself; but like a furious mad-man.

They endeavor to make Religious Saints, whose piety was never before suspected by any person, pass for wicked and ungodly men; and to have learned men, who always had a great and equal reputation for wisdom and learning, and who solemnly profess to follow no other doctrine, but that which is commonly taught, in all Catholic Schools, to be reputed whimsical and extravagant. These two witnesses, who swear against them, were the forlorn hope of a revolted party against the Church, sent out, by Mr. *Arnauld*, to fall foul upon the *Sorbonne* and the Jesuits. They bring down several passages, out of several books and several authors: they order and dispose them as they think best for their purpose: they mix them here and there with their own reflexions, and with the impertinences which they make a very odd man speak, brought upon the stage, for that very purpose; and, of all together, they compose a horrible, friteful, piece of work: whereas the greatest part of these passages, carried back to the places from whence they were

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taken, and joyn'd, to the assertions from which they were divided; taken and understood according to the restrictions and modifications there set down, have, commonly, nothing but what is wise and agreeable to sense and reason, nor any thing, but what is conformable to the principles of sound Morals. I say, commonly, because, none yet are so foolish, as to pretend, that the Jesuits have more of the gift of infallibility, than other Divines, or than even the Fathers themselves have had.

Mr. Abbot, sayd *Cleander* interrupting him, if you can give us as good an account of these passages, and these particular matters of fact, as you have done of those we have been upon to day, we shall be of your side; and his and laugh at the author of the *Parallele des Anciens & des Modernes*, for his article of the Provincial Letters.

That I will do when you please, answer'd the Abbot. But I was insensibly the cause of a long digression about matters of fact, concerning which you had, perhaps, no design to busy your selves.

These matters of fact, reply'd *Eudoxus*, are in this affair essential; and sufficient to defend the Jesuits, and condemn their adversaries: nor are they altogether unuseful towards judging and deciding the dispute and matter of law. You made me take notice, as we went along, of some things, which persuade me, as I have already told you, that it is not so easy to determin or be positive in this matter, as it is generally

generally thought; and really the more I have of late examin'd it, the more difficulty have I found to choose what side I wou'd be of.

I am my self, almost, as unresolv'd as you, sayd the Abbot. I am convinc'd of the falshood of some articles, but in suspense for others. The next time we meet, He tell you all I know, and all I think, and then leave you to judge.

The conversation about probable opinions went no farther; but they discours'd for some time after of the Provincial Letters. The Abbot, who is very quick and sagacious, and knows, perfectly well, how to distinguish, in any book between what is real and solid, and what is glittering and shewish: and between some rambling extravagant maxims, by which men daily supply the want of reason and justice, in the cause, they defend; made his two friends several important reflexions.

In the first place, he made them quickly sensible, that there never came out any book, that ought more to be distrusted, than the Provincial Letters; whether one regarded the source, from whence this work was deriv'd, or the occasion of it's being made, or the memoirs which were follow'd, or the manner wherein it was compos'd, or that, wherein it was publish'd, or the judgment of those, who examin'd it, and whose duty it was to examin it to the bottom. And also plainly shew'd them, that this book was made by men, who were then, at least, suspected in matters of faith:

that the *Sorbonne's* censuring Mr. *Arnauld's* doctrine, was the occasion of it: that the *Paris* Divines, and their doctrine, in a point they judg'd essential, to justify the decisions of the Church, was in it turn'd to ridicule, and their assemblies, represented as so many farces and interludes of merriment and foolery, without any respect, for the most illustrious persons of the Kingdom, who by the King's command made a part of them: and, lastly, that these Letters were but a kind of comedy to entertain people at the expence of the Jesuits, because they were believ'd to have contributed most to the condemnation of *Jansenius's* five propositions.

In the second place, he made it appear, that there never was a book, wherein some general and specious maxims were more abus'd; maxims, that were proper to surprise either superficial or lazy men, who wou'd not take the pains to examin whether their application was either just or sincere: that it was therein all along sayd, that Christians cou'd have no other rule of Morals, but the Scripture, the Fathers, and the Councils; and that the fancies, or imaginations of modern authors, if it were but for their novelty, ought to be accounted and pass for dangerous.

The Abbot enlarg'd himself, fully, upon this article, which he excellently well clear'd from all objections and difficulties. I wou'd be glad to know, sayd he, for example, how a Curat, who had got all the Bible by heart, and had

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also got into his head the seventeen tomes of the last edition of the Councils, together with all Saint *Austin*, Saint *Hierom*, Saint *Chrysostom*, and the rest of the Greek and Latin Fathers, but had never read any one of the Casuists; how, I say, cou'd this Curat take upon him, to hear Confessions, and resolve all the cases of Conscience, which his Parishioners might propose to him: or whether he cou'd understand, from the works of Saint *Austin* against the *Pelagians*, or from those of Saint *Prosper*, how to determin all the difficulties, which relate to the impediments of matrimony; how to distinguish, between that, which makes it nul, and that, which renders it only unlawful; or, how cou'd he there find all the expedients he ought to make use of, in these matters, to avoid scandal, divisions, quarrels and destruction of families? what might, or ought to be tolerated, or permitted, or hinder'd in regard to certain, nice, and tender circumstances and conjunctures? how this Curat, whether in City, or in Country, cou'd be able to answer about the validity, or the nullity, the justice, or injustice of some contracts, and about the doubts, which a thousand different circumstances may occasion, even in such contracts as are least disputed? how shou'd he behave himself, in matters of restitution? wherein one rule, whether it be of the law of nature, or of the positive law, often seems to destroy another. How many difficulties, in matter of censures, irregularities, and dispensations, do daily arise,

which the Councils cou'd neither foresee, nor regulate, and of which experience, only, gain'd by hearing Confessions, gave occasion to treat, to clear, and decide them? a man may, almost, say the samethings of every part of Morals; the Divine law, which is compris'd in the holy Scripture, and the Ecclesiastic law, which is compris'd in the Councils, are they not also, as well as the Civil law, the instruments God makes use of, to regulat the manners, the disputes, and the differences of men? and are they not likewise, at the same time, the sources, and springs, of an infinit number of difficulties and troubles? having these holy rules, say our reformers, what need have we of Casuists, and of all their great volumes, which fill whole libraries? and, I demand of them, since there are so many and so good laws, why are there such a number of Lawyers in the world, and so many commentaries upon those laws? and why, notwithstanding all this, are there still so many suites, wherein the Judges, who best understand all these laws, and all these commentaries, are, sometimes, hard put to it, much imbarra's'd and perplex'd in giving their Judgments?

The Council of *Trent* declares to all penitents, that they are oblig'd in confession to tell the number of their sins, and their different kinds: the Confessors are oblig'd to explain to them those different kinds, to know them, and to make a judgment of them: are the means of doing all this exactly and prudently, which go very far and suppose no small skill in several

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sorts of learning, in School Divinity, in Moral Divinity, and even in Logic, to be found in the Scriptures, in the Councils, or in the Fathers? and without reducing things to the method that these Divines, so much despis'd, have done, into how many scruples, and difficulties wou'd this decree of the Council put both the penitents and the Confessors?

No, no, one must not oppose the doctrine of the Scriptures, the Fathers, and the Councils, to the doctrine of Divines, and the greatest number of Casuists; no more then they must the Commentators and interpreters of the laws, to the laws themselves. One may indeed examine, whether their consequences are well or ill deduc'd; or whether the Fathers, in such circumstances, and in those particular cases, wou'd have decided as they did: or whether, they swerv'd from the right way, or went astray by ignorance, by wilfulness, or by malice. The Ecclesiastic Superiors have a right, to provide and take care in this matter: but it is also the Christian readers duty, and they are in charity bound to it, not to believe *Pascal* upon his own word, nor trust his extracts, even when he quotes the books, the chapters, and the pages: the respect due to the persons he attacks, is a strong prejudice against him: and the judgment any one shou'd make, upon his testimony or assertion, wou'd certainly be too rash and too foolish. The most men ought to do, when they read him, is but to doubt, whether as declar'd an enemy as he is, he may not, possibly speak

truth: but not to conclude all those guilty, whom he condemns, and for no other reason, but because he is pleas'd to say, they are ignorant in the Church learning, occasions of scandal to Christianity, the corrupters of the Gospel, and the Morals of our Savior; and that as soon as they appear'd, they banish'd the Scriptures, the Councils, and the Fathers.

I am as much perswaded as you, answer'd *Eudoxus*, that this Curat, you speak of, with all his knowledge in Scripture, Councils, and Fathers, wou'd be often very much puzzled how to solve all his Parishoners difficulties, whether put to him, in Confessions, or in consultations, if he had not some special and particular rule to assist him, in the application of those general rules: and his fate wou'd be the same with some Lawyers, who have the Institutes, the Code, and the digests almost by heart, and yet are not able to advise, or counsel aright one of their farmers, or tenants in a suit against his neighbor, about the bounds of his lands, his close, or fields, I know more than one Curat, or one Doctor, who declaim and thunder out aloud against the Jesuits Morals, and yet, in their closets, *Cardinal Lugo*, *Lessius*, *Sanchez*, *Layman* and *Azor* are the advocats they consult, and by whose determinations they often gain a great deal of honor.

You are in the right, replied the Abbot, and it is without doubt for this reason, that *Saint Charles Borromeus*, in a little treatise he has made about true Confession, do's expressly injoyn his Curats,

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Curats, diligently and constantly to read, *Manibus continuè terant*, the *Classic* authors, so he calls them, who fully treat of cases of conscience.

Saint Francis of Sales shews he was of the same opinion, in a little piece which he directs to his Priests, intituled, an *Advertisment to Confessors*, wherein, after several advices about the method they ought to observe in hearing Confessions, he thus concludes. "Father *Valerius*

Avvertis-
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"*Reginaldus*, a Jesuit, reader of Divinity at *Dole*,
"(observe that this is one of those, whom *Pascal* treats most rudely) has newly publish'd a
"book, *Of the prudence of Confessors*, which will be
"greatly useful to all that read it. Here you see,
"my dear brethren, the five and twenty articles
"which I thought fit to propose to you, &c.

De la pru-
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I have also seen a latin letter from the same Saint to Father *Lessius*, which was not printed with the rest, but was publish'd elsewhere, the original of which is at *Antwerp*, wherein, after he had signified the great esteem he had for the Societies works, and for his in particular, he adds. *I read some years since a very useful piece, de justitia & jure, which you publish'd, where you solve, with much solidity and clearness, and better than any Divines I have seen, all the difficulties of this part of Divinity.* Pray observe, adds the Abbot, that this book, with which Saint Francis of Sales is so much taken, and commends so much, is that very book, for which *Lessius* has deserv'd from *Pascal*, the title of the Favourer and Patron of Murderers, of Bankrupts, broken Merchants and Usurers, &c.

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The Bi-
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You there touch upon a point of some consequence, sayd *Cleander*, and without all doubt, the authority and testimony of Saint *Charles Borromeus*, and of Saint *Francis of Sales*, ought not to be of less weight, than that of *Pascal* and *Nicole*. And if we add to this, answer'd the Abbot, that one of our most famous Bishops, in his Synodal, or Diocesan Statuts, has very lately mention'd among other books which he advis'd his Clergy to read, the better to enable them to hear Confessions, *Tolet* and *Azor*, both Jesuits, the last of whom had the honor to be one of *Pascals* heroes of the loose Morals, perhaps the Jesuits may have occasion to flatter themselves into a belief, that all the world do not blindly run into his opinion or suffer themselves to be deluded, or trapand into *Port-Royal* nets.

As the Abbot was going on with the Jesuits Apology, for which he was furnish'd with very good memoires, *Eudoxus* was call'd away by a letter of consequence which requir'd an immediat answer. But *Cleander* made the Abbot promise he wou'd be present and make one at the meetings and discourses which *Eudoxus* and he resolv'd to have about the Provincial Letters. They agreed to go next day to one of the librarys in *Paris*: to see, whether the *Thomists*, the Doctors of *Leuvain*, and the rest, had taught the Doctrin of probable opinions, as the Jesuits and the Professors of *Sorbonne* had done. And also to confront and compare, exactly, the passages he had shewn them, to prove that *Pascal* and *Wentrok* had alter'd and disguis'd the Jesuits principles.

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And likewise promis'd, if that appear'd true, they wou'd without difficulty forgive his calling them both impostors and calumniators: and that they wou'd afterwards go on, to the examination of the particular passages, which, the Jesuits publicly say, were, for the most part, maim'd, or falsified, or wrongfully transpos'd: after which the Abbot and *Cleander* took their leaves of one another, and parted.

The Fourth Discourse.

THE Abbot came the next day, at the hour appointed, to take up *Eudexus* and *Cleander*, whom he carried to the Fathers of **** whose library, he knew, was very well furnish'd with the books they wanted. There he made a new conquest in favor of truth: it was over a young Batchelor of quality of *Eudexus* and *Cleander's* acquaintance, who, by chance, happen'd to be in the library: and who, having saluted them, and understood the occasion of their coming, cou'd not forbear laughing: he ask'd them how they came, at this time of day, to have any scruples about a matter, that for so many years past no body had question'd. To make a doubt, sayd he, whether the doctrin of probable opinions be the specific doctrin of the Society, of which the Jesuits were the inventors, and the only, or, almost, the only defenders, having of their side but a *Caramuel*, or a *Diana*, at most, is to doubt, whether there be such a City as *Rome* in

in the world, or a Grand Vizir in the *Ottoman* Empire.

Hereupon the Abbot spoke, and told him, that in such matters as these, there was nothing better, than for a man to see things with his own eyes; and that he wou'd do them a pleasure, to help them to find out, what might, at last, confound a Jesuit, whose confidence the Public had a long time suffer'd to go unpunish'd: that this Jesuit had been so bold, above thirty years since, as to make all the Religious Orders, a number of Bishops, the most famous Universities of *Europe*, and even the *Sorbonne*, in the sight of her own Doctors, complices of the extravagancies of the Society, in matter of Morals: that this was done, by a book licens'd and printed at *Paris*: wherein, without entring into the matter of Right, or examining, whether the doctrin of probability be good or bad, he confines himself to the matter of Fact, that for near a hundred years, and until the year 1660, when his book was printed, this doctrin was the common opinion of all the Bishops, all the Orders, all the Universities and all the Doctors: that for one, that had oppos'd it, he cou'd easily reckon ten, that had defended it: and that, of the three or four, at most, who had quitted it in some points, two were Jesuits. You see what his paradox is, added the Abbot, seeming to speak very seriously. And this author, continued he, to put his design in execution the more methodically, has reduc'd the whole doctrin of probability,

bability, to two propositions, which in effect
 contain it wholly: the first: *That, of two pro-
 bable opinions, one may follow the less safe.* The
 second: *That, of two probable opinions, it is law-
 ful to follow the less probable.* The two Monsters
 which *Pascal* and *Wendrok* have fought with, as
 sprung from the damnable politics of the Je-
 suits: and in this little book (which at the
 same time he drew out of his pocket) 'tis bold-
 ly, I say, affirm'd, that these two propositions
 were taught, either separatly, or both together,
 by this croud of non-Jesuit Divines, which are
 all nam'd, and their passages quoted. What
 insolence is this if it be not true?

The young Batcheler, after he had, for some
 time, railly'd at the Jesuits pretention with *Cle-
 ander* and *Eudoxus*, who affected to seem as in-
 credulous as he, sayd, he wou'd willingly share
 in the unnecessary trouble the Abbot had re-
 solv'd to give himself. Hereupon they fell im-
 mediately to work, to the turning over the
 books, which the library keeper put into their
 hands, as fast as they call'd for them: they
 follow'd the order of the chapters, and begun
 with the list of Bishops.

They presently read, in *Saint Antonin*, the first
 proposition, express'd in these words. *Eligere
 viam tutiorem consilij est, non praecepti.* To choose
 the safer way, is matter of counsel not command.
 And because *Wendrok*, who was gravel'd at this
 passage, had answer'd, that *Saint Antonin* spoke
 there, only of the choice of conditions, or
 states of life, and that he meant no more than
 this,

this, that tho' it were safer to become Religious, than to live in the world, it was, notwithstanding, not a command to become Religious, but only an advice: they read what the Jesuit Author had writ upon that text, to refute *Wendrek's* explication. This Saint speaks there of an action, of which there is a doubt whether it be a sin or not a sin, which in reality is the ground of the question treated of, in this whole paragraph. Here are Saint *Antonin's* own words.

2 p. tit.

3. §. 10.

"It is sayd in the third chapter of *Ecclesiasticus*, He that exposes himself to danger, shall perish therein: from whence Saint *Thomas* and others do infer, that he, who do's an action of which he doubts whether it be a mortal sin or not, do's commit a mortal sin; because, that thereby he exposes himself to commit a mortal sin. When therefore in a matter of Morals, there happen to be different and contrary opinions, he that follows the larger seems to expose himself to the hazard of committing a mortal sin, it being possible, that this opinion may be false, and the other true.

"But to this it is answer'd, that he, who knowingly do's a thing, wherein he doubts there may be a mortal sin, do's commit a mortal sin, if while he do's it, he continues in his doubt, even altho' the action, in it self, were not sinful: and here the word *doubt* is taken in it's most strict and proper signification; when, because of equal reasons on both sides, one do's not incline more to the one than to the other: but when the doubt is

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"light, and but by way of scruple, as a man
 "doubts, when sticking to one opinion, in a
 "matter wherein he is afraid the opposit opini-
 "on may be the true opinion; by acting with
 "this doubt he do's not sin, when he follows
 "the opinion of some Doctor, and that there
 "are probable reasons for this opinion, more
 "than for the contrary, altho the opinion,
 "which is follow'd, shou'd be false, provided,
 "that it be not against the manifest authority
 "of the Scripture, or the determinations of the
 "Church. And the reason of this is, that he
 "who acts in this manner, do's not act, with
 "the doubt of a mortal sin, but in his action
 "is guided by a probable opinion.

The Batcheler cou'd not easily agree to this
 doctrin, or comprehend how a man cou'd act
 with a doubt, and yet not offend God. The
 Abbot sayd, that, according to the principles of
 Saint Antonin, and those Divines who follow'd
 him, one must, in this matter, distinguish be-
 tween a *practical* and a *speculative* doubt: that
 they hold, that the one do's not necessarily
 follow the other, and that one may act with a
speculative doubt, altho it be not lawful to act
 with a *practical* doubt. But in a word, con-
 tinued he, the question here, is not of the
 Right, but of the Fact; nor whether Saint
 Antonin was in the right, or in the wrong; but
 only, whether the Jesuits do fully prove, that
 his opinion was the same with theirs.

At least, answer'd the Batcheler, Saint An-
 tonin seems to say, that in allowing the less safe

to be follow'd, one is oblig'd to follow the more probable opinion.

The Jesuit, reply'd the Abbot pretends to no more: his drift is, only, to shew that Saint, *Antonin* held, at least, that one might follow an opinion which is but probable; and that, of two probable opinions, one may follow the less safe; altho there shou'd be still danger, that it might be false. If we were to dispute the thing, we shou'd, by this single principle of Saint *Antonin*, overturn all *Pascal* and *Wendrok's* Divinity on this subject.

The next, they call'd for, was *Didacus Alvarez*, that man, so famous for his dispute *de Auxilijs*, when *Dominican*, and who was afterwards Archbishop of *Trani*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*. They look'd for the title of the dispute so to wit. *Whether, of two probable opinions, a man may follow that which he shall judge most convenient, and leave even that which he believes the more probable.* This Divine, after he had brought down the opinion of *Cajetan*, and of some other *Thomists*, which seem to hold that one ought to follow the more probable, speaks thus.

Ad. 1. 2.

Num. 4.

"The second opinion is contrary to this, and holds that every body may follow that opinion, which he judges probable. This is held by Master *Medina*, and with him by many other learned *Thomists*.

Afterwards, he sets down a third, to reconcile the two others, by the restrictions where-with it allows the less probable opinion to be follow'd,

follow'd, which are, that neither our neighbor, nor our Religion be concern'd therein, and that there be not in it, any particular circumstances, to offend the honor of God: he also adds some suppositions. First he lays down as a thing not to be doubted of, that, when two opinions are equally probable, or, that there is very little difference in the point of probability, one may choose which of the two he pleases: secondly, that when a penitent has follow'd a probable opinion, for example, that which says, such or such a contract is lawful, his Confessor ought to absolve him, altho he shou'd believe it more probable, and even certain, that the contract is unlawful: *Because, says he, that the penitent, in following this probable opinion; has not sinned.* After which he declares himself of this third opinion; and answers the arguments of Cajetan, which, for the most part, do only prove, that one ought to make use of the foremention'd restrictions, and which all the Jesuits, who taught this doctrine never fail'd to prescribe. Upon which the Abbot in a few words made these two reflexions.

First, that nothing can be more clearly taught, than that, on several occasions, *It is lawful to follow the less probable opinion, altho that, at the same time, it shou'd be the less safe.* And in the second place, that the single testimony of Alvarez may save them the labor, of turning over Medina, and the other learned Thomists; to satisfy themselves that the doctrine which was attributed only to the Jesuits was common to them with

the most able Divines of Saint Thomas's School,

These reflexions, which began to put the Batcheler a little out of countenance, made *Cleander* and *Eudoxus* smile, who, by the former day's discourse, were prevented from being surpriz'd, as he was, at the things that were shewn them.

The Abbot went on, and shew'd the following proposition in (a) *Joseph Anglez*, Bishop of *Bozano* in *Sardinia*, in (b) *Thomas Zerola*, and in (c) *Malderus* Bishop of *Antwerp*. When the penitents opinion is probable, altho' the Confessors opinion shou'd be more probable, he neither can, nor ought to refuse him absolution. And this in (d) *Bartholemew Ledesma*, an other Bishop of the *Dominican Order*. This conclusion is against *Adrian*, who says, that one is oblig'd to follow the more safe opinion, even supposing that the contrary opinion is also probable. But notwithstanding our conclusion is very true, and this conclusion is, that it is lawful to follow the less safe and the less probable opinion.

They open'd a second time (e) *Malderus* Bishop of *Antwerp*, to shew this assertion in express terms. It is sometimes lawful to follow the less probable opinion, and to reject the more probable, altho' this shou'd be the more safe opinion. (f) *Bonacina* was found to be of the same opinion. We may, says he, without sin follow a probable opinion, and leave the more probable and more safe opinion.

(g) *Barbosa* Bishop of *Ugentio*, the great Canonist, was also in his turn consulted, and found to be of the number of the approvers of this doctrin.

(a) Quæst. de Conf. difficult. 8.

(b) In praxi penit. ca. 22. qu. 3.

(c) Edit. Venetæ 1559. in l. 2. q. 19. disp. 86. (d) Tract. de penit. sac. diffi. 14 p. 732. edit. Salaman. 1585.

(e) Loco citato.

(f) Tom. 2. diff. 2. q. 4. p. 9.

(g) Tom. 1. col. in lib. 2. Decret. p. 408.

At last when they came to *Caramuel*, I durst not sayd the Abbot propose him to the Jesuits adversaries for a Judge : for tho he were a Bishop, they have treated him so ill, and the *Jansenists* have given such an idea of him, and of *Escobar*, that men cannot bear their names pronounc'd, but they presently fall a laughing. Besides, perhaps, he extended this matter too far. But without regarding his opinion, may we not, at least, hear him as a witness of a matter of fact, wherein he was very well vers'd. This opinion, says he, here in his Moral Divinity, which he dedicated to *Alexander VII*, is, at this time, the common opinion of all the world, that men may, with a safe conscience, follow the less probable opinion. The common opinion, adds he, is, that it is lawful to follow the less probable and the less safe opinion, and to reject the more probable and the more safe opinion.

Num.
302.

See now, continued the Abbot, eight Bishops, besides *Caramuel*, all men particularly distinguish'd, and remarkable for their learning and their piety, who hold the first part of the doctrine of probability, and seven, that hold the whole, pure and intire. What an honor is this for the Jesuits, that all these learned men are accounted as nothing in respect of them? and that, in a common cause, they shou'd be regarded as the chief, who alone deserve to be attack'd, and that all these Prelats shou'd not be thought worth the trouble of being so much as nam'd?

They are in truth Bishops, sayd *Budocus*

laughing, but they are but *Italians, Spaniards, or Flemings*; and if I were a Batcheler of *Sorbonne*, as this Gentleman is, two of their Doctors wou'd weigh more with me, than all those people, who, perhaps, might have been disciples of the Jesuits. In that point, sayd he to the Abbot, it were well, if you cou'd justify the quotations of your Father *Dechamps*: as for *Cleander* and me, who are not so much concern'd in the matter, we will still go on to make the *Thomists* ready for you.

The mischief on't is, sayd the Abbot, that some of these had quitted the world before the Jesuits were come into it: and that others had printed this doctrin, before any Jesuit had written in Divinity: The rest were either *Dominicans*, or Doctors of *Louvain*, and appear'd very indifferent for the interests, or the doctrin of the Society. But I will willingly refer my self in the matter to the Doctors of *Paris*. Hereupon they took *Isambert, Du-val, Gamache and Bail*, quoted by Father *Dechamps*. Wherein, were read to the Batcheler these plain propositions, which were the day before shewn to *Eudoxus* and *Cleander*. *That one is not oblig'd to follow the more safe opinion: and that one may in conscience follow the less safe, and less probable opinion and quit the more probable and more safe opinion.*

He was very much surpris'd, and sayd he wou'd see no more; but how then, added he, comes it to pass, that all the world say it is the peculiar doctrin of the Jesuits, the secret and foundation of their corrupted *Morals*, and of their

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their Politics? and how happens it, that *Pascal* and *Wendrok*, quitting all others, fall only upon them? and that they speak of these Fathers, and of their opinions in this matter, as the scandal of Religion, saying, that the heretics ought not to judge of the Church's doctrine, by the doctrine of the Jesuits, and that the Catholic Universities, the other Communities and Religious Orders do not partake in their errors? you fill my head with a world of scruples, sayd he to *Eudoxus* and *Cleander*; I my self, upon this account, have a thousand times exclaim'd against, and run down the Society: the matter passes for a thing evident and certain by the charity and the care of the *Jansenists*, and is become so public, that I did not believe I was guilty, in this, of rash judgment, nor of detraction, or calumny.

I am well pleas'd, answerd *Eudoxus*, that you have so tender a conscience: but, after all, is not *Pascal*, *Wendrok*, Mr. *Arnauld*, and all their friends of weight enuff to hinder and secure your judgment from being rash, altho it shou'd be false? believe me, that if you wou'd unburden your conscience of these sins, you ought to go and confess them to Mr. Curat of ****, however severe he be in other matters, he will not refuse you absolution on this account; but let me advise you to tell him the case with all it's circumstances: for if you speak to him of rash judgment, or of detraction, in general, with reference to the doctrine of some Divines, he will believe you speak of Mr. *Arnauld*, or

of *Jansenius*, and that will not be for your advantage. Tell him it is of the Jesuits, and he will comfort you; he will enlarge your conscience, as if you had been a weak scrupulous person; he will inform you, that it is not always any great crime to speak little trifling things of one's neighbor; and that, when they happen to be sayd of the Jesuits, they may sometimes have a very good effect.

The Barcheler hereupon having taken leave of them, they stay'd sometime longer to compare many passages with the texts of the authors cited, which they found very exact. But beginning to be weary of a labor, which was not at all pleasant or agreeable, they only chose five or six more of the most positive, to verify them, and especially those of the *Dominican* Divines. They pitch'd upon these Divines rather than any others, not only for the reputation their School is in, but also because there have been, of late, some particular persons of their Order, very ill instructed, without doubt, in the opinions of their Doctors, who affected to make all the inconveniences, real, or pretended, of the doctrine of probable opinions fall upon the Jesuits alone.

But before the other passages were compar'd, the Abbot desir'd *Eudoxus* and *Cleander* to take notice of what Father *Dechamps* asserts in his book, to wit, that the *Dominican* Divines, who had handled this matter for near these hundred years, had all agreed, in teaching these two propositions together. *That one is not oblig'd to*
follow

follow the more safe opinion, and, that it is law-
ful to follow the less probable and less safe; and
quit the more safe and more probable opinion. "In-
"somuch, says this Father, that I have not
"found one of those I have read, nor of those
"quoted by the authors I have read, who has
"given the least ground to believe, that he
"was of a contrary opinion.

The first, of all the Thomists, he begun with,
was *Bartholomew de Medina*, whom *Antony of*
Siena, in his *Bibliotheca*, qualifies with the title
of the complete and excellent Divine, distin-
guish'd as much, by his probity and his piety,
as by his learning. These words are to be seen
in his commentaries upon *Saint Thomas's prima*
secunda, printed many years before any Jesuit
had handled this matter. From thence arises a great
question, to wit, whether a man be oblig'd to follow
the more probable opinion: and after he had pro-
pos'd the contrary opinion, he thus determin-
s. My opinion is, that if the opinion be probable, it
is lawful to follow it, altho' the contrary opinion
shou'd be more probable: which he afterwards
proves at large.

q. 10. a.
6. c. 3.]

Cleander having read, among the remaining
authors, the name *Dominic Barnes*, desir'd he
might be consulted: he was, sayd he, a man
of some weight and value, and one of the Di-
rectors of *Saint Teresa*: they open'd his works,
and found in his treatise upon *prima secunda*
these words. "There are two sorts of opinions;

q. 10. a.
11. dub.
3. c. 4.

"for some relate to actions, for example, to
"know whether such a contract be lawful or

"not.

"not. Others concern the things themselves,
 "to know whether a thing be so or so; whe-
 "ther this house belongs to me, or to ano-
 "ther: I say then for the first kind, that
 "men may follow a probable opinion, and re-
 "ject the more probable.

By this 'tis plain, sayd *Eudoxus*, that the
 Holy *Teresa's* Director is, like the rest, of the
 loose Morals; and for which there is no re-
 medy: for the Inquisition, which bore with
 this doctrin, wou'd never have suffer'd a *Port-
 Royal* in *Spain*, nor the publication of *Pascals*
Letters. Witness, sayd the Abbot, what hap-
 pend the last year. A Religious man under-
 took to get the Provincial Letters, translated
 into *Spanish*, to be printed at *Madrid*, that they
 might, as was sayd, be sent into the *Indies*; to
 give the Christians, there, the same kind of
 character and idea of the Jesuits, as was en-
 deavor'd to be given to the Catholics of *France*.
 But what's worse than ill luck? the Inquisition
 got notice of it, and cited the Religious man;
 who, being question'd about this new book,
 found about him, answer'd, he knew not what
 it was: that it was directed to him, without
 telling him from whence it came. But the
 printed leaves appearing still fresh, he was con-
 victed and shut up till farther orders.

Cleander ask'd him if the Jesuits knew this
 story? they know it, answer'd the Abbot, and
 wou'd be very glad, they had not so much cause
 as they daily have to complain of such kind of
 proceedings. After this, they read, in the little
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book, the rest of the *Thomists* quoted, without taking the pains to search into their own particular works, out of which, no doubt, the passages are most faithfully extracted.

Gregory Martinez. First conclusion. "It is not only lawful to choose, of two opinions equally probable, that which one pleases, but it is further lawful to follow the less probable, and to quit the more probable. This second part is contrary to *Sylvester* and *Cajetan*, but yet it is the common opinion.

Tom. 1.
in 1. 2. ad
quæst. 19.
art. 6.

Peter Ledesma. "It is more probable, and it is conformable to the law of God, and the law of nature; that it is lawful for a Judge to reject the more probable opinion, and to follow that opinion which is probable. This is the opinion of Master *Medina*, of *Orellana* and several other Doctors, and chiefly of Saint *Thomas's* Scholars upon the 2. 2. q. 67. a. 4.

In sum.
part. 2. tr.
8. ca. 21.

Ho ! for this bold stroak, sayd *Cleander*, the Jesuits will reform the *Dominicans* Morals: for I very well know, that upon the chapter concerning Judges, the direct contrary is commonly taught by the Society: and that their principal Doctors (a) have declar'd against this proposition. And they bring for it very strong and good reasons; and do solidly shew the difference there is between these, in particular, and other cases, where neither the interest of our neighbor, nor the honor of Religion is concern'd.

(a) Suarez,
Vasquez,
Valentia,
Sanchez,
Tannerus,
Becanus,
Conink,
Granado,
Salas,
Filiucius,
Layman,
Reginaldus,
Gordonus, &c.

There follow'd in the list of *Dominicans*, (b) *Vincenzio Candido* Master of the sacred Pallace, (c) *Ildefonso* of *Saragosa* whose works were printed at

(b) To. 1.
disq. mor.
disq. 3.
art. 20.
(c) Ad. 1.
3. disq. 208.
frag. 1.
nu. 549.

Rome,

Rome, by order of the General Chapter of Dominicans; a circumstance, upon which one may argue strongly, and which Pafcal wou'd not have forgot, if the treatise of Divinity of any Jesuit, who had taught the doctrine of probable opinions, had been publish'd by order of a General Congregation of the Society. This list ended with *Paul Blanchis* and *John Haquet*.

Page 133.
Controy.
14.

The Abbot further propos'd the justifying or proving some passages of the Doctors of *Louvain*, quoted by *Father Dechamps*. But *Cleander* and *Eudoxus* sayd they were abundantly satisfied. They only took the pains to count the Authors of the other Orders, and the Doctors of all the Universities mention'd in the following chapters: the number was about threescore: but they read, attentively, and with pleasure, the reflexions made by *Father Dechamps* in the last chapter of his little book, which really are very much to the purpose.

The first is, that which the Abbot had before made them, and which, as one may say, do's, naturally, present it self to their and every body's eyes. To wit; whether there be the least reason, or the least equity to attribute to the Jesuits, as their particular and peculiar opinion, a doctrine, largely spread in the writings of the Divines of all Religious Orders, and of the Doctors of all Catholic Universities: and above all, when *Mr. Isambert* writes in *France*, that it is the common opinion of the Doctors. *Ita communiter Doctores*; that *Bonacina* writes the same thing in *Italy*: *Ita communiter Theologi*; that

that others say it in Spain, and others in Germany. *Hæc sententia est communis in Scholis. Illa sententia est hodie omnium.*

Navar.
Io. Ca-
ram. Ep.
Miffensis.

The second reflexion is, that, it is yet more ridiculous and more unjust, to make the Jesuits authors of an opinion, taught by so many able Doctors before they had a being. *It is the most common opinion of Divines, sayd Peter Navar in the year 1597. This opinion is supported by the greatest number of Doctors, by the greatest authority, and by the strongest reasons, say'd Salonius, an Augustin in the year 1592.*

The third is, that the Jesuits have apply'd themselves, above all other Divines, to limit and restrain this doctrine, which certainly may be abus'd more than any other Moral principle, if it shou'd not be taken as it ought to be; and which, in reality, was stretch'd too far by some Doctors, before it was treated of by the Jesuits. For this reason, *Suarez, Vasquez, Sanchez,* and other the most learned Divines of this Society, have plainly demonstrated, and convinc'd all the Divines of their time, that this doctrine ought not to take place in reference to Judges in their Judicatures, nor to Physicians in the application of their Medicines, nor to Professors of Divinity, in the choice of the opinions they ought to teach: and these last, in particular, are bound in conscience, according to the Morals taught by the Jesuits, to follow the most safe opinions in matters of Religion, and such as are conformable to the common practice of the Church, and morally

rally certain in the matter of the Sacraments.

Lastly the fourth reflexion, which, by the way, they had touch'd upon in the precedent discourse, is, that from the time this doctrine was in vogue till the year 1660 there had been but one Author who attack'd it in it's full extent, and that this Author was an *Italian Jesuit*, *Comitolus*, from whom *Wendrok* had taken the best part, of what, with any color of reason, he had sayd upon this subject, but very disingenuously, without acquainting his readers that this *Comitalus*, whom he had cited, was a Jesuit.

They were going to leave the library, after the Abbot had shewn his two friends in the books of several Jesuits the definition they give of a probable opinion, together with the restrictions added to it, by *Layman*, *Suarez*, and their other Divines, the extracts of which he had shewn the day before: and had thereby made an end of convincing them of *Pascal* and *Wendrok's* unfaithfulness, who give a very false notion, and make a very wrong scheme of this doctrine, to no other end, but that they might have an occasion to calumniat the Jesuits. Just as *Cleander*, casting his eyes, by chance, on the 33 page of *Father Dechamps* book, which lay open, saw there the name of *Father Morin*, the *Oratorian*: what, sayd he, laughing aloud, do the Jesuits bring to their succour, even the very *Oratorians*, upon the chapter of Probability?

Because that is an extraordinary thing, let us see, sayd *Eudoxus*, what *Morinus* says to the business. In his eighth book of Penance ch. 4. nu. 19.

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these words are to be found. *Franciscus Suarez* tra. 3. ad 1. 2. disp. 12. sect. 6. nu. 10. prudenter mihi videtur circumscribere casus, in quibus necesse est opinionem certam præferre probabili, & probabiliorē minus probabili: mihi enim videtur certum & evidens, aliquando probabilia certis præferri posse: quibus igitur indicijs & argumentis hæc dignoscemus? quando, scilicet, inquit *Suarez*, ex justitia vel charitate tenemur vitare damnum, quod re ipsa subest, vel periculum ejus, &c. *Suarez* seems to me to determin very prudently the cases wherein one ought to prefer a certain to a probable opinion, and the more probable to the less probable: for it appears to me certain and evident, that sometimes a probable opinion may be prefer'd to a certain one: how shall we come to know when this is to be done? that is, says *Suarez*, when either justice, or charity do's oblige us, to prevent the damage that may happen by the thing it self, or the danger of it, &c.

Let us go, sayd *Eudoxus*, the Jesuits have carried the cause and they will carry it before any impartial judge: any man of sense, who will but hear and examin it, as we have now done. They went abroad to take the air a little wearied by the application their curiosity had given them, but mighty well satisfied they had clear'd and disintangled the truth of things, from all the clouds and obscurities, wherein it had a long time layn industriously conceal'd and folded up.

The

The following part of the fourth Dialogue.

AT their return from taking the air, they alighted at the Abbot's lodging, where, after they had, for some time, talk'd of indifferent things, being at a stand, and the conversation fallen, *Eudoxus* thus briskly took it up agen. But what think you, in the main, Master Abbot, of the question of probable opinions? let us lay aside the matter of fact, and the sense of others, and tell us your own thoughts of the thing it self.

I shou'd be hard put to it, answer'd the Abbot, if I were oblig'd to declare my self in this particular. 'Tis a matter wherein it is as easy to destroy all, as it is hard to establish any thing: where the extream, and directly contrary opinions, seem to have insupportable consequences; and where the middle, which some are willing to hold, seems not possible to subsist, without reestablishing the foundations of the two opinions, which they pretend to destroy.

This is a very strange proposition, sayd *Eudoxus*: but if it be true, the positive, magisterial air, which some certain people put on, and affect in this matter, is not to be endur'd.

The greatest part of these men, answer'd the Abbot, have divid'd very little into the business, but suffer'd themselves to be carried away with the stream of the party, they first met; or to be dazzl'd with outward appearances, which have in them nothing that's solid; or else to be

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shun'd with the clamors and out-crys rais'd, by concert or agreement, in *Flanders* and in *France*, and which have been ecchoed and heard as far as to *Rome*. But here they move more slowly, and walk with a graver pace, and are not in so much hast, nor very forward to decide in so nice and tender a point. All that I can say to you, is, that I cannot bear *Pascal* and *Wendrok's* opinion, and that I do yet suspend my own judgment, concerning the opinions of other Divines.

It looks well notwithstanding, sayd *Eudoxus*, to say, that one is oblig'd always to follow the more safe opinion, tho' it should be the less probable. Has not *Wendrok* sayd wonders in his first note upon the fifth Provincial Letter, where he proposes his system, and fights with all his forces that of his adversaries, represented by the single body of the Jesuits? For these Fathers are there brought to answer for all the *Thomists*, all the *Scotists*, all the Doctors of *Salamanca*, *Alcala*, *Louvain* and *Sorbonne*; for all the Canonists, and all the Bishops you have nam'd to us, and to whom had they spoke to them in their proper persons, it would certainly have been very rude, to have offer'd so many injuries, and sayd so many contumelious things, as he has done.

All that is admirable, answer'd the Abbot; and above all this fine principle, upon which all the rest depends, that no probable opinion is safe, and that it do's not excuse from sin, if it be not true; *opinionem probabilem securam non esse nisi vera sit*. Insomuch that any judgment

Sect. 4.
Paragr.
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upon which I lean, whether it be to govern my self; or to direct others, that consult me; this judgment; I say; how probable, and how well soever founded, if it be false, makes me a criminal and guilty before the tribunal of the divine justice. It is, without doubt, this extravagant and erroneous principle, of which the absurd consequences are easily known, that has contributed most to make this opinion fall to the ground.

For, notwithstanding, all they cou'd do, the Doctors and Directors, most zealous for the reformation of Morals; were not able to make it serve their turn in spite of all that was most specious in this severity, and of the honor, and reputation it wou'd have brought to their direction and advice, and notwithstanding the inclinations, and the interest they had to give into the notions of one kind of devotes, by declaring loudly and universally for the more safe opinion, they are agreed, that there is no solidity in this doctrine, and convinc'd by reason and by experience that it is both impertinent and impracticable.

Not to be able to quiet the conscience, but by evidence, which is wanting often and almost always in moral things, to reduce all the Judges even after they have done their duty exactly to doubt (I speak of well grounded doubt, and not of a scruple) whether they do not make themselves lyable to go to the Devil almost by all the judgments they pass. For the most just and impartial are daily divided amongst themselves;

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selves; that is to say, that necessarily the one, or other of them in this opposition of opinions, judge and decide the contending parties differences upon false principles, or by misapplying true ones, and that thereby they do, an act of injustice, which neither their application, nor their examination of the affair, nor the care they take to follow that, which seems to them the more probably true, nor the authority of the most able Lawyers, can excuse since that after all this they lay hold on a false opinion, and which at the same time is contrary to justice. To throw into the same uncertainty, by the same reason, all Lawyers, Advocates, Proctors and Attorneys, almost for all the causes they take in hand, among which 'tis certain there are very few that have as clear a right of their side, as there is truth in a mathematical demonstration; and all those that have litigious rights and causes, for all the suits they bring and maintain. To give the same kind of trouble to all Directors, and all Confessors in an infinity of decisions, especially, in the matter of restitution, where it is as little safe, to oblige as not to oblige to restitution, and where it is equally dangerous, on both sides, to offend, or sin against justice: and to all Merchants, in, I know not, how many circumstances, of their trade and dealings, and generally to all men, in an infinite number of conjunctures, where the daily commerce of life do's engage them, and wherein they are govern'd by probable opinions only: all this appear'd very intolerable.

Besides this other principle, which *Wendrok* farther supposes, for the establishment of his doctrine, that invincible ignorance do's not excuse from sin, is a principle, whatever efforts are made in it's favor, that reason cannot admit, and which is repugnant to the notions, all men have, of the goodness of God, and which of late, was also censur'd at Rome, and which, in effect reestablishes some of the condemn'd propositions of *Jansenius*, and undermines the foundation of some of the most important doctrines of the Council of *Trent*.

After all, the ineffectual remedy for all these great inconveniences, and the only one suggested by *Wendrok*, is, to address ones self to God, as if a man could be certain, every moment, of a particular revelation from on high. Notwithstanding these reasons, they were, I say, oblig'd to quit this fine piece of Divinity. But it do's not appear, that either *Wendrok*, or his friends were much troubl'd for't. The opposition that was then made to this specious severity, together with the pretended looseness of the Society's Morals, serv'd well enuff to decry and run down the Jesuits; this was all these Gentlemen aim'd at, and they had all the reason in the world to be satisfied with the event.

I very rarely puzzl'd, sayd *Cleander*, upon this subject, a Doctor of the severe Morals by a difficulty I propos'd to him, concerning the contracts for incomes upon the loan of money. It is certain, sayd I to him, that these kind of contracts can be justified, only by probable

reasons.

reasons. They have been in use, or, at least, well warranted, but within these two or three last ages. In the beginning they were accounted, by several Doctors, usurious contracts, and altogether unjust, whereby twice as much money was repaid as was at first receiv'd; since it will plainly appear, by redeeming, at the end of twenty years, the agreed for sum of a thousand pounds a year, after the rate of five in the hundred, and cleaving for the whole time the arrears, that the money first borrowed with just as much more was fully paid back. This business was then disputed, with so great variety of opinions, that even to our days the dispute of the three contracts was still kept on foot. It is also certain, that this kind of contract is to be justified by a good intention, which men have to purchase, by parting for ever with the principal, not a certain sum of money yearly payable, (for money is not to be bought with money) but a right of exacting, every year, a certain sum from him, to whom the principal was given. This is a very nice and tender point. He ought to have answer'd, sayd *Eudoxus* interrupting him, that two Popes, *Martin* the fifth, and *Callixtus* the third, did tolerate, or approve these sort of bargains, in the Decretals they made upon this subject.

He gave me this answer, replyed *Cleander*, but I thus pursued my argument; besides sayd I to him that the Popes can neither derogate from, nor destroy the law of nature to which, many Doctors do affirm and maintain, that,

this contract is as opposit and contrary, as is the most formal kind of usury. Besides this, many of those, we know, who hold that the most safe opinion is always to be followed, do not hold, that the Pope's authority is sufficient, to make an opinion certain, if it were before doubtful; and that these two Popes do not approve of this contract, but on two conditions, not to mention some others, which they do also require. The first is, that the rent or incom shou'd be in the manner of a mortgage, and setl'd upon some certain, fix'd, fund, of a nature to produce a revenue, for example, upon an estate in land, or upon a house. The second is, that, this fund failing, the rent shou'd be no longer paid: conditions which made easy the greatest difficulties the Doctors had rais'd upon this kind of contract.

But in *France*, these conditions are not observ'd, he that borrows money binds all his estate, in general, and his own person into the bargain; that, if his estate shou'd faile, the person shou'd always remain bound. Pius the fifth, since these two Popes, and the Council of *Bordeaux*, held in the last age, say, that these two conditions, which I have mention'd, are necessary. Whence it is evident, that it is more safe, not to have, not to make, or receive such kind of contracts, or bargains, at least, after the manner they are made in *France*. For to examin this business well to the bottom, they have not found, for these two or three hundred years, any new demonstration to justify

justify this contract, more convincing, than the reasons at that time propos'd to support it; nor a more solid refutation of their arguments who condemn'd it; that is to say in one word, that there is but a great probability to justify this kind of bargain or contract.

This probability then is not an assurance, that it is conformable to the law of nature, however it may be allow'd of, by custom and by reasons, which seem very probable, to honest good men, and to the greatest part of the learned. But if these learned men, who are but Schoolmen, Canonists, or Casuists, be deceiv'd in a matter, so subject to error, what shall become of an infinit number of Christians, of all estates, conditions, and employments, who daily either give, or take mony, at this kind of interest? What shall become of us in *France*? where the conditions are not observ'd, which the Popes believe necessary, to hinder this contract from being dangerous, and with which many Doctors did not yet judge it safe enuff, and without which abundance of others accounted it unsupportable. It is manifest, that in this, all follow the probable and less safe opinion. I assure you, added *Cleander*, that my man was so puzzl'd, he knew not what to answer.

I do not at all wonder at it, sayd the Abbot, any man of sense cannot but see, that these arguments are unanswerable, and plainly demonstrate, what a folly it is, to build on certain general maxims, which, at first, seem clear,

Cas de
Conscience de
S. Beuve
tom. 1.
p. 583.

tho' they are indeed but dazzling, and the application of them, in an infinit number of occasions, absolutely impossible. A thousand such like arguments, as you have told us might be made, upon this subject, and which can never be answer'd. I know continu'd he, that in the first heat of the pretended reformation of Morals, this case was propos'd: they drew themselves out on't, as well as they cou'd; but upon every little difficulty, and dissatisfaction found in their answers, by those who consulted them, they were forc'd to acknowledge, that men were not oblig'd always to follow the more safe opinion. But, in a word, when once any doctrine makes an universal trouble and disorder in civil affairs, that very disorder ought to pass for a moral demonstration that it is false; and that it is against the order of Divine Providence; and, by consequence, against the eternal verities, of which common sense and reason are but the expressions which make part of the rules, God has given us for our conduct. And thence it is, that such a doctrine has so short a duration, the common fate of all extravagant and unreasonable opinions.

But is what you affirm certain, sayd Eudoxus, that this opinion is laid aside? for I still meet, every day, men, who, in speaking of these matters, do generally declare, that we must always follow the more safe opinion. This being most favorable to the law, as they express themselves, and most contrary to concupiscence, that this was the method of all true Christians,

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and that the doctrine of probability was never known, or taken, in any manner, by the Fathers and the believers of the first ages; for a rule of the manners, and conduct of the Disciples of Jesus Christ.

How easy it is, answer'd the Abbot, for a man, to make himself a Doctor of the severe Morals, such a degree, or Doctorship, requires neither study nor learning; there is no more necessary for it, but a little confidence to determine positively in company, and to condemn, or dam all the world; I do not speak of these sort of men, when I say *Wendrok's* doctrine, upon this point, is out of date. I speak of the most able Confessors, and Directors of the best credit of this age; who do not, at all, follow it, either in their practice, or decisions; because they have found it's principles false, and it's consequences extravagant, and who, in these days, commonly hold for a maxim, that when two contrary opinions meet, the less safe becomes very safe, by the strength of the reasons whereby it exceeds it's opposit; I speak of the Divines, who, for several years past, have in their writings treated of probability, and, who, except two or three, that are oblig'd to swallow a hundred absurdities, and to engage themselves in a thousand contradictions, do confine themselves to the refutation of this doctrine, that one may follow an opinion, which is both the less probable and the less safe opinion, and to prove, that one may not follow the less safe, but when it is the more probable opinion;

but nothing is more false, than what these pretended Doctors of *Wendrok's* character, as little skilful in Divinity, and full as bold as himself, have had the confidence to advance, that the doctrine of probability was never acknowledg'd in any manner by the Fathers or believers of the first ages for a rule of manners.

They stand very much upon it, notwithstanding, sayd *Cleander*, and, build a great deal upon this negative argument. It is true, answer'd the Abbot, that it was not then disputed in the Schools, whether a probable opinion might be follow'd, when it was the less safe; but it is also true, that, in practice, the most holy men did govern themselves by it without scruple, when they met with difficulties, which cou'd not easily be determin'd by the chief and inviolable rules of our manners, the Scripture, the Canons, and the laws and constitutions of Ecclesiastic superiors; and when there was any dispute about the sense and meaning of these very rules, in some circumstances, and the opinions were divided, every one took what side he pleas'd, and sayd with Saint Paul *Qui non manducat manducantem non spernat, & qui manducat, non manducantem non spernat*. This puts me in mind, continu'd he, of a very nice conjuncture, of the Christians, in the time of *Julian* the Apostat, reported in the Ecclesiastical history, and which will serve for an example and proof of what I say.

This Emperor, among the acts he made use of to engage his subjects in Idolatry, gave order, that

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that all the victuals, expos'd to sale in the market of *Constantinople*, shou'd be defil'd by pagan superstitions; and particularly directed, that all, there to be sold, shou'd be first offer'd to Idols. The Christians of this great City did believe, that, in conscience, they ought not to buy any thing in the market, insomuch, that as long as this order was in force, they only fed upon the corn which the rich had in their granaries, and which, without grinding, they got drest as well as they cou'd.

The same Prince publish'd, and put in execution, such an other edict at *Antioch*; but the Christians there, were of a different opinion from those of *Constantinople*; they bought, and, after their usual manner, eat of what was publicly sold. The Church, which was much edified by the conduct of the Christians at *Constantinople*, was not at all scandaliz'd, at the Christians of *Antioch*; and *Theodore*, who reports this matter, do's approve and justify it, by a passage of Saint Paul, in his first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, *Whatsoever is sold in the Shambles*, Cap. 10: *that eat, asking no questions for conscience sake.* Those, of *Constantinople*, knew this passage of Saint Paul, as well as those of *Antioch*; but they understood it in a different manner; which occasion'd two probable opinions, of which the more safe was that of the Christians of *Constantinople*, and the less safe that of the Christians of *Antioch*.

Here is the usage of probability, sayd *Eudoxus*, establish'd, as much as possible, by the contrary

contrary practises, and behaviour of the Christians of these two Citys; and by that of the Church in reference to those of *Antioch*, for, without doubt, *Theodoret*, by approving the fact, did not believe they were oblig'd to follow the more safe opinion.

L. 1. Machab. c. 2.

The very Scripture it self, answer'd the Abbot, can furnish me with examples of this nature, about the decision of the great case of conscience propos'd in the Jewish Church in the time of the renoun'd *Antiochus viz.* whether it were lawful to fight upon the Sabbath day, the Jews had, then, neither the Ark, nor the Prophets to consult, but debated the matter in a council of war, and concluded, they might fight upon the Sabbath day; this was the less safe opinion, which seem'd contrary to the law, and to all the former presidents of that nation in matter of Religion.

If *Wendrok*, sayd *Eudoxus* interrupting him, had been of this council of war, and had read in it his dissertation upon the fifth Provincial Letter, *Mathathias* and *Judas Machabeus* wou'd have been, infallibly confounded and turn'd into ridicule.

No doubt on't, answer'd the Abbot, but to return to the Christians of the first ages; when I reflect upon the manner of their conduct, it seems to me, that men were never more govern'd by probable opinions, than they were at that time; nor ever practis'd more the maxim, which teaches, that one may in conscience follow the opinion of a Doctor of reputation for probity

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probity and learning; that a Bishop, a Priest, and a Deacon having gain'd the people's esteem and good opinion, their judgment and sense of things were receiv'd as Oracles, and blindly follow'd, in such matters, as the Scriptures, or the Councils had left undetermin'd. Whereby you may see, that *Wendrok*, and all his adherents are much out in their account; for after this, how can it be sayd or maintain'd, that there are no footsteps of probability in the Scripture, or in the holy Fathers, or in the practice of the first ages of the Church?

As concerning the Fathers, sayd *Cleander* interrupting him, I'll tell you a pleasant adventure, of which some days ago I was a witness, and comes now into my mind properly enuff. I was at the Bishop of ****'s house, where there was a great deal of good company, and, among others, a Jansenist Abbot, who turn'd the discourse to the Morals of the Jesuits, of whom he talk'd wonders, especially touching the article we are now upon. The Prelat, being a man of wit and judgment, and not an opiniator, growing weary of his too tedious discourse, sayd laughing, I must tell you, Mr. Abbot, of a decision lately made in the Indies, by the principles of probability; but, upon condition, that you'll get it inserted in the eighth tome of *La Morale pratique* before it be finish'd by Mr. *Arnauld*. I do promise, and swer'd the Abbot very readily, that, if you judge it worthy, it shall have there a very good place. You your self, replied the Bishop,

shop, shall be the judge; the matter of fact is this.

A *French Merchant*, who had a very handsome wife, was shipwrack'd in the *Indies*, and sav'd himself in a City belonging to the *Spaniards*, being a stranger, he was carried before the Governor, a violent brutal man, who, at first sight, fell desperately in love with the woman; the Merchant had notice of it, and, being very much disturb'd and uneasy, went to the College of that City, and desir'd to speak to a Casuist and a Divine; he told them the difficulty he was in; saying that he knew from good hands, that the Governor was so passionately in love with his wife, that he wou'd gladly Marry her, if she were not already Married. For he do's not yet certainly know, says he, that she is my wife; persons well inform'd of the matter do assure me, that he is resolv'd to have me murder'd, in case he finds me to be her husband; or that I shou'd oppose his Marriage. And, on the other side, if I suffer him to Marry her, he'l give me an employment, that will make amends for the great losses I have sustain'd by shipwrack. I can very well conceal my Marriage, there being no body here acquainted with it, and make her pass for my kinswoman, and relation, as she really is, and so near, that I was forc'd to get a dispensation to Marry her. I am sure she will do any thing I shall bid her; but I wou'd not willingly offend God. I have had a thousand times the benefit of his Divine protection, and,

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even now, he seems to inspire me with some confidence, that he will hinder the execution of the Governor's ill designs against my wife.

Hereupon the Divine, who spake first sayd, that he very much pitied his case, and declar'd to him there was nothing else to be done, but to give an heroic proof of his faith, by offering up his life, a Sacrifice to Almighty God; for if he were ask'd, whether the woman were his wife, and he shou'd answer she was his kinswoman, this must needs be, either a ly, or an equivocation; neither of which is lawful: but the greatest evil of this business was, that he cou'd not advise his wife to conceal her being so, and to say she was but his relation, without visibly exposing her to commit adultery, and making himself a complice; that, if he had so great a confidence in the Divine succour, he ought still to hope, and rely upon the goodness of God, for delivering him from his present danger, by some particular way he cou'd not foresee; but to believe that God shou'd change the Governor's heart, in reference to his wife, or preserve her, from the crime to which she her self wou'd consent, cou'd not but be a most damnable presumption. This was not a Jesuit's decision, sayd our Jansenist Abbot.

Have a little patience, continued the Prelat; the Casuist too spoke, in his turn, and declar'd to the Merchant, that he was of another opinion: that as to the first point, in saying this person was his kinswoman, he shou'd not tell a ly; he shou'd indeed thereby conceal the truth,
but

but not say any thing that was false; wherein there is nothing of evil: and, as for the act of adultery, to which his wife was expos'd, this could not be imputed to him for a fault; that by praying to God, and trusting in his goodness he satisfi'd his duty; and if to take this course was to tempt God; to presume that he would save his life in a conjuncture wherein his death was morally inevitable, would be to tempt him much more. But in going this way, he was to take care, not to have the precise intention to avoid death thereby; but withal he ought to be ready, as he sayd he was, to do any thing rather than offend God.

Ho there spoke the Jesuit, answer'd the Jansenist; and if the other also were one, here is directly Mr. *Pascal's* division, of the Jesuit Directors, of which some are severe, and others loose even to excess.

Without donbr, sayd the Bishop, the Divine's opinion was the more safe, and the more probable, and the Casuists, the less safe and the less probable. Most certainly, answer'd the Jansenist, who earnestly desir'd to know, whether the matter of fact was true, which he approv'd as excellent for the *Morale Pratique*. The Bishop, perceiving him catch'd and drawn in, sayd to him laughing, indeed, Mr. Abbot, what I have told you, is but a Parable, of which I will now tell you the meaning. The Merchant's case is, in reality, that of *Abraham*, to which you are not a stranger; who, to avoid the danger of death, adviz'd *Sara* to say to

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pharao's people, and to Abimelech's, that she was his Sister, without saying that she was his wife. The Divine was Saint John Chrysostom; who plainly condemns Abraham, as a man, who consented to the adultery of his wife; who delivers up the sheep to the wolfe; who deceiv's, and who is an example to the greatest Saints, to let them see what they are capable of, notwithstanding all their Sanctity. But the Casuist is Saint Austin, who sayd in expreis formal terms, that Abraham, in saying Sara was his Sister, had done no ill; because he only conceal'd part of the truth, and told nothing that was false, *Tacuit aliquid veri & non dixit aliquid falsi.*

Epist. 3.
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"That is not yet all, continued he, the action of Abraham, sayd Saint Austin, looks, at first, like that of a husband, who gives up his wife to commit a crime; but it will not appear so to any, but to those, who know not how to distinguish, by the light of the eternal law, between good and bad actions. This Patriarch, persued the Father, did not consent to his wife's adultery... but, by concealing she was his wife, and saying she was his Sister, his intention was, that these strangers and ungodly men should not kill him, least that after his death they should treat her like a captive. He adds the circumstances, and the reasons mention'd in the exposition of the case of conscience, and in the Casuist's answer, and above all, that Abraham was in hopes, that, whatever happen'd, God would protect his

his wife. Where you see, concluded the Prelat, that Saint *Austin* makes good use of the direction of intention; and that he decides, at last, the case of conscience like a Doctor who believ'd one might follow the less safe opinion, as *Abraham* himself had done. It is certain, neither of them reason'd very well, if they did not judge, that this less safe, was, at the same time, the less probable opinion; and if they believ'd it such, we must say they were, of the same opinion with those, who hold, that the less safe opinion may be follow'd, even when it is the less probable.

Our Janсениst, continued *Cleander*, was a little surpriz'd; and the trouble he was in, diverted the company very much; he stiffly maintain'd, that nothing like this cou'd ever be shewn him in Saint *Austin*. The Bishop of *** hereupon reach'd down the sixth tome of this Father, and shew'd him, at large, the case and the decision in the 22th book against *Faustus*; giving him also to understand, that it was not in conscience safe, nor so much as probable, that they might run down their neighbors, with that passion and madness, wherewith his good friends the Janсениsts seem'd possess'd, in declaiming eternally against the Jesuits: and that it wou'd be much more edifying to practise, without preaching, the severe Morals; than to preach them, every where, and yet practise directly contrary to what they preach. This advice, answer'd *Eudoxus*, seems to me to be very wisely and seasonably given; and, if those who

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And what do they now think at Rome, ask'd
 be Cleander, of this fine maxim, that men are al-
 *** ways oblig'd to follow the more safe opinion?
 this they there condemn it answer'd the Abbot; at
 and least Alexander VIII pass'd his censure upon this
 following proposition, *That it is not lawful to*
follow a probable opinion, even the most probable,
among all those, that are probable, Non licet sequi
opinionem, vel inter probabiles probabilissimam, this
 proposition, is the immediat consequence of
 the other; for, if a man be oblig'd to follow
 the more safe, it thence evidently follows, that
 it is not lawful, to follow the contrary opinion,
 how probable soever it may be.

That is manifest, sayd Eudoxus, let us here
 then take our leave of Wendrok, with his mad
 extravagant Morals; but, continued he, I can-

not however easily give into the opposit opinion; which teaches, that one may follow the less safe opinion, even when, at the same time, it is the less probable: why rather shou'd they not hold the middle opinion, according to which, men, may take the less safe, only, when it is the more probable.

I am of your mind, answer'd the Abbot, and have all the inclination possible to follow this middle opinion; and a great many of our present Divines desire it; but, having very well examin'd the whole matter, I find, that the Doctors, of this mitigated probability, are altogether as hard put to it, as the others. It requires an entire book to shew you all the trouble given them, by those, who hold the doctrin of the less probable opinion, and that which they themselves also, in their turn, give to those, who follow this opinion. I have at my house some volumes that might instruct you in the business, in case your curiosity and your patience cou'd carry you so far.

I do not intend it, replied *Eudoxus*, and in all appearance, I shall content my self in this matter, with the plain, naked, notion, you have given me of a probable opinion, which, if I well remember, is an opinion not contrary to faith, nor to the principles of faith, nor to any evident reason, that plausibly answers all the arguments of the contrary opinion, and is, besides, supported by one, or more, important reasons, that is to say, reasons capable to make an impression upon a wise man, so far,

as to satisfy him, that the opposit opinion is not certain.

You take the thing very rightly, sayd the Abbot, but you must also observe, that all these conditions ought to agree, even to the opinion they call the less probable. For all the Doctors of different Nations, different Universities, and different Orders, who have so unanimously taught, that the less safe opinion may be follow'd in conscience, have always suppos'd, that the less probable opinion, was truly probable; and that if the contrary opinion be so evident, and certain, that it takes from it its probability, it will no longer come within the state of the question. Insomuch, that those among them, who say one may follow the less probable opinion, do only say, that an opinion may be follow'd, which constantly has, and even by the very confession of those, or, at least, the greatest part of those who oppose it, all those conditions, as well negative as positive, as they are commonly call'd. By which, as you may see, the doctrin of the Fathers, of Tradition, and the Councils is secure; since the first precaution of these Divines, is to set down all this, as an inviolable rule, and to declare improbable, every thing, that is contrary to it, from the very moment it becomes contrary.

Altho this doctrin, thus explain'd, sayd *Cleander*, shou'd not be true, it is, at least, evident, that it is not extravagant, nor impious, nor abominable; and altho it shou'd not have been embrac'd, by so many learned and illu-

lustrious persons, as it has been, for so long a world, time, I wou'd not look upon it as such. This nion; is the only thing, answer'd the Abbot, that quit in pretend at present to make you conclude; and opinion out, and by this alone, I carry the cause against *Pascal* and *Wendrok*, in favor of the Jesuits, and, an Wh and do infinite number of other famous Divines. of ben opinio and it on, c tainly Thos seriou notio Cour Saint the of it ing, of b the any Ritu som rect Hol wor kno and me if

As for me, sayd *Cleander*, till these disputes he, once for all, determin'd, I wou'd, in the mean time, be glad there were a rule made, whereby all men shou'd be prohibited from declaming, and roaring out against this doctrin, of the less probable opinion; and against the other propositions that relate to it; under penalty, that any one that did, shou'd be oblig'd, in practise, to follow the contrary opinion which in words he holds and maintains, That will never be done, sayd the Abbot; there are too many concern'd to suffer it; the very Directors themselves wou'd oppose it. What for example wou'd Mr. **** say, if one of his she penitents, reflecting upon part of her fortune, and doubting whether it were well or ill acquir'd, shou'd not in the matter refer her self to him, upon pretense, that one single Doctor cannot make an opinion probable, much less safe, and that she shou'd therefore require him to produce the opinions of a dozen Doctors under their hands and seals?

What wou'd Mr. Abbot of **** say, if, because the opinion, which allows the plurality of Benefices, to a man already possess'd of one of a considerable value, is, by consent of all the world,

world, the less probable, and the less safe opinion; he shou'd in that point, be oblig'd to quit in practise, the doctrin of the less probable opinion; against which notwithstanding he fly's out, and furiously runs it down in all places?

What are you in good earnest, sayd *Eudoxus*, and do's the opinion, which holds the plurality of benefices lawful, pass for the less probable opinion? most assuredly answer'd the Abbot, and it is really so. Never any probable opinion, compar'd with its contrary, was more certainly the less probable opinion, than that is. Those who talk otherwise, either do not speak seriously, or else do not understand the right notion of probability. The manner of the Council of *Trent's* expressing it self, and what *Saint Thomas* argues upon the subject, and what the *Casuits*, loose as they pretend them, say of it, evidently shew, that, commonly speaking, all, or most of those, who enjoy plurality of benefices, are secur'd, but by the favor of the less probable opinion; of whom, hardly, any are to be excepted, saving those, whom the Ritual of *Alet* do's, in effect except, to wit some good Church-men, who, with a well directed intention, and for want of fit persons, *Hold several Livings longer than otherwise they wou'd who cannot easily rid themselves of them, knowing the ill use that is often made of them and who, in the mean time, do all they can, to hinder men from being scandaliz'd at their example.*

I understand you, sayd *Eudoxus*, but in truth, if I shou'd govern my self by prejudices, what

Self. 24.
c 17.
Quod lib.
90 a. 15.

you tell me, touching plurality of benefices, wou'd be sufficient to convince me, that one might in conscience follow the less probable and less safe opinion. For how many Bishops, Abbots, and Regulars, do we hear lowly preach and cry up severe Morals, and yet possess more benefices than one good one? Besides, abundance of 'um have their Confessors and Directors, in the famous Seminaries of *Paris*; where nothing is so much talk'd of, as the severe Morals; and where some, even of those who possess pluralities, do actually dwell or reside. It must therefore needs be, that the Confessors of these beneficed persons, and the Confessors of their Confessors, and the Superiors, and most considerable in their Seminaries, do believe, that they may in conscience, follow the less safe, and the less probable opinion. After this, the Jansenists must surely be very impudent, to attack the Jesuits upon a point they are so far from abhorring in practise.

The Jesuits, answer'd the Abbot, wou'd be very happy, if certain persons of some Seminaries, wou'd not make them criminal, for a doctrine, which they themselves do so publicly follow, and justify by their practise. But this do's not at all hinder them, from instructing, at the very beginning, or, at least, from very easily permitting, the young Abbots there educated, to cry out against, and, on every occasion, run down the Morals of the Jesuits, and to ridicule them, for their doctrine of probable opinions; and for an excellent model of this charitable

charitable rallery, the Provincial Letters are often put into their hands, together with *Wendrok's* elegant notes upon them. You may assure your self, that I do not speak at random of this matter; but am very well inform'd of all their proceedings; what is there done and what is sayd upon this subject.

But let us I pray you, sayd *Eudoxius*, return to our Abbot of **** so zealous against probable opinions: no doubt, but this Gentleman, with all his Priories and Abbeyes, must needs have chosen his side, and concluded that it was worth going to the Devil for fifty or sixty thousand livers a year. For, after all, it being certain, according to the Casuists themselves, that the only ressource, for those who hold pluralities, is the doctrine of the less probable opinion, I dare not condemn those, who believe, in good earnest, that it may be follow'd: but as for this man, whose zeal, or rather fury, startles, at the very sound of probability, I wou'd fain know, how he understands the thing? Is it not to pronounce the sentence against himself? and can there ever be a person to whom God may with more justice say, *Ex ore tuo te judico serve nequam?*

I do expect, sayd *Cleander*, that the first time I meet this Abbot, he shou'd tell me by what Morals he ordinarily governs himself in this matter; and I will propose to him before witnesses, one of these three things; the retraction of all he has hitherto sayd against this doctrine; or the quitting one of his three livings;

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or the renouncing the share he pretends to in paradise. But, in a word, continued *Cleander*, turning to the Abbot, you have undertaken no small task, and are very well employ'd indeed to defend the Jesuits in this their favorite doctrin, as its commonly sayd to be.

I know not how you understand the matter, answer'd the Abbot; but their conduct and proceeding in it, seems to me very clear, and the most reasonable in the world. When their Doctors first enter'd the Universities and the Schooles, they found this, the common, ordinary doctrin, and the most follow'd of all others, particularly by *Saint Thomas's* disciples; could they have acted more prudently, than in conforming themselves to it? some of them did not agree to it, but taught the contrary opinion; not only in the Classes, and in the Schooles, but also in their public printed books; they did it, without opposition, and with their Superiors approbation.

Since the violent exclaiming and flying out against this doctrin, far from doing themselves the honor of protecting it, every man, among 'um had the same liberty he enjoy'd before; of late, they taught the contrary to it in their College at *Paris*; and I am very well inform'd, that the same thing was done at *Lions*, and *Toulouse*, at *la Fleche*, and at *Rome*. They have, lately, maintain'd it in public Theses, in their College at *Paris*, of which I my self was an eye witness. Others have taken the resolution, I have done, to decide, or affirm nothing positively

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sitively in this matter. The books within these few years written by the Society, in favor of this opinion, were not so much to defend it, for an indisputable doctrine, as to shew, that it had been poyson'd and painted in such horrible colors, to no other end, but that their Doctors might pass for the great corrupters of Morals. They modestly represented to the public, that if there was any evil in this doctrine, they did 'um wrong, who endeavor'd, to make them answerable for it; they being neither the first, nor the only persons who had taught it; and that it was the utmost malice, to single out and distinguish them, on this account, from a croud of Bishops, Doctors, and Divines, with whom, and after whom, they had but joyn'd in opinion.

Their adversaries seem'd to think they had a mind to condemn and banish it: I do not believe they had, or ought to have any such intention; for being propounded and taken, as in reality it is and ought to be, with the usual precautions and restrictions, and such, especially, as the Jesuits, among others, have added, and, having besides been maintain'd, by this infinit number of learned Doctors, of whom I have shewn you the list, it has nothing in it, that cou'd make it deserve to be condemn'd and exploded. The Jesuits do abhor it, as their adversaries have represented it; they condemn both its principles, and its consequences; but under this disguise they disown it to be theirs. In a word, let but the Church speak, or the
lawful

lawful powers declare themselves, and, then notwithstanding the numbers, and the merit of the Doctors, who, for these hunder'd and fifty years, have defended it, they wou'd condemn it, and their Superiors wou'd, I am certain, forbid its being any longer taught, in all their Colleges. They have always chalenged and defied their adversaries, in the point of submission and obedience. Let but the Church declare herself upon the article of probability, as she has done upon the doctrine of *Jansenius*; and then the Jesuits wou'd not afterwards be seen, to stick and boggle, nor to have recourse to the distinction of Fact and Right, nor to any such like pittiful, and trifling shifts, and artifices.

The Jesuits have, of late years, condemn'd theses and positions, and disown'd certain propositions, too lightly advanc'd by some particular members, depos'd and turn'd out of employment, those who had taught them, when they found 'um incorrigible, and blindly subscrib'd, in matter of doctrine, to all the orders of the Church. I wish to God, we might see their example follow'd by a party, who do not oppose the Society, for any other reason, but because, they know the Jesuits the chief supporters of the Catholic doctrine, the destruction of which is these Gentlemens ultimat design. But this character of submission and obedience, was always the character of the true and faithful Sons of this holy Mother the Church; as that, of wrangling and obstinacy, cheating and knavery, was constantly the mark of faction and error.

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Here the Abbot made an end; having first convinc'd *Cleander* and *Eudoxus*, of the justice of the cause he had undertaken to defend. They made him afterwards promise, that he wou'd see them again next day, to examin the other accusations *Pascal* had charg'd upon the Divines of the Society in his Provincial Letters.

The Fifth Discourse.

Immediately after dinner, *Cleander* and *Eudoxus* carried the Abbot to the Jansenist's house, *Eudoxus's* friend, of whom they had spoke in the first discourse, and who had by him all the Casuists of the Society. They had great hopes to engage him to dispute with the Abbot, that they might have the pleasure to see, how each of 'um wou'd behave himself, and which wou'd come off best, in a matter of fact, to be made good, only, by looking into the books; and wherein nothing cou'd be necessary but eyes, to decide the controversy. But as ill luck wou'd have it, the new adversary they had intended for the Abbot was not at home; yet notwithstanding, they went directly to his library; whither as they were going *Eudoxus* sayd to the Abbot, we have really lost half our design: For our intention was, to find out for you a stout antagonist; who might a little moderat that ardent zeal, which makes you so warm in defence of the Jesuits. We two are a very unequal match for you; and the victories you obtain, by the advantage of truth,

truth, wou'd be the more glorious, if they were a little better contested.

I do not find, answer'd the Abbot, that you are of so gentle and plyable a mould, so easy as you pretend; you do indeed yield to truth, but not before you are convinc'd; and it was well for me, and absolutely necessary, to have had good proofs and authentic pieces ready to produce. For, notwithstanding all your compliments, and commendations of my sincerity, I have not found you very forward, to take my word touching the matter in hand. But, however, I must confess you are very much in the right, and take the course every one ought to observe in their inquiries after truth.

Tell me in good earnest, sayd *Cleander*, whether you are as able to defend the Jesuits, in the rest, in all the other particular points, wherewith they are reproch'd, in the Provincial Letters, as you have seem'd to us, in the general article of their conspiracy, against the Morals of the Gospel, in their empty, chimerical, division, of strict and loose Directors, and in the particular one, the doctrin of probability. You your selves, answer'd the Abbot, shall be the judges; all I can say to you is, that I will not spare their Divines, when ever I find them faulty. But I desire you wou'd not, upon *Pascal's* word, and his odd notions, conclude every thing, without farther examining, to be loose Morals, which in his Letters he call's by that name: And, if by chance, we shou'd happen to find some Jesuits go astray from the rules

rules of true Morals, be content to treat them, as you wou'd, in the like case, treat other Divines, as you wou'd a Doctor of *Sorbonne* who got his book approv'd by three of his Brethren; or a *Dominican*, whose work had the approbation of three Divines and a Provincial of his own Order. Blame them; but without imputing to the whole body, as a contagious disease, the sins of a particular person. Nay, I will freely give up, even, the whole Society to your censure, if in any determination, evidently ill, I do not find out, among it's members, ten, twenty, for one, who have taught the contrary: These conditions are not, I think, over advantageous for the Jesuits, and yet if with all these they carry the cause, you cannot but conclude, that the right is on their side.

Nothing can be more equitable, than what you desire, sayd *Eudoxus*; let us begin at one end and go, gradually, on to the other, the list of real, or pretended loose decisions begins in the fourth Letter. Wherein upon opening, see sayd he, what *Pascal* makes the Jesuits here speak, by the mouth of the good Father; who discovers to him all the secrets of the Society. "We do maintain as an undoubted principle, "that an action cannot be imputed for a sin, if "God do's not give us, before its committal, "a knowlege of the evil that is in it and an "inspiration exciting us to avoid it.

In the first place, this is false, cry'd the Abbot, and I boldly affirm the contrary; and that in the sense *Pascal* gives this proposition, no
Jesuit

Jesuit ever taught any thing like it. Let us see, sayd *Cleander*, how well you can make out this beginning. Let us examin, continued the Abbot, how many several ways, according to the Jesuits, this proposition is false. First it is false in an infinity of actions, to which men are not mov'd by any passion, or transport; and which nature of it self do's abhor; the Jesuits, according to the principles of the common, ordinary Divinity, do affirm that a man may sin, and sin mortally, altho God shou'd not have given him actual grace, or an inspiration to avoid the sin. I will explain my self by an example, which will make you easily comprehend both theirs and my meaning.

I have read some where or other, that a Christian, a skilful Painter made a slave by the *Turks*, having presented to *Mahomet* the second, who understood painting very well the picture of *Saint John Baptist's* head, the Emperor lik'd it, and sayd to the painter, that it was a very good piece; but yet had one great fault; which was, his not having given to the head, that turn of the mouth, which is commonly seen in heads, that are cut off. And having sayd this he call'd to him an other slave; drew out his Cymiter, and struck off his head; to let the painter see by this horrible experiment the defects of his picture.

The Jesuits all do, and will, say upon such an occasion as this, and an infinit number of others, where liberty, impunity, and very often the mad, foolish, vanity of designing to pass for

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for a libertin and an ungodly man makes some people, daily, commit, in cold blood, in spite of conscience, and of nature, actions altogether unworthy either of a Christian, or a man. I say on such occasions as these, men, without being prevented with that grace, which is call'd actual, or a Divine inspiration, do frequently commit very great sins: because according to Saint *Austins* opinion, *The image of God in our Souls, was not so defac'd by original sin, but that there still do remain some strokes and touches, by vertue of which, nature and reason alone are sufficient, to restrain men from committing such brutalities; and even to make the most vicious do, sometimes, actions conformable to the law of God.* And in this point, Saint *Thomas* do's perfectly agree with Saint *Austin*, and the Jesuits.

Lib. de
Spir. &
lit. c. 27.

In the second place, the Jesuits tell us, that when a man, foolishly, and with knowlege of the hazard, puts himself into a near and dangerous occasion of sinning, the providence of God is, not, at all, engag'd to secure him; and that tho' God shou'd not have given him any grace; in the instant preceding the sin, to which he expos'd himself, this sin, notwithstanding, wou'd be imputed to him.

Thirdly, that the sins, the blasphemies, for example committed by a drunken man, while drunk, are likewise imputed to him, altho', by reason of the condition he then is in, he can have no actual knowlege of the evil he commits, nor any inspiration to avoid it.

Fourthly, they teach, that customary sins,
for

for example, the false oaths, and imprecations made, by a common swearer, are all imputed to him, altho he commits these sins without reflexion, or the actual knowlege of what he do's, unless that being truly touch'd with sorrow for the sins he had committed in this matter, he do not heartily detest the custom he has got, and destroy it, as much as lyes in him, by a real and sincere repentance.

Suarez,
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Lastly, they all teach, that the sins of *vincible* ignorance, that is to say, the actions, committed against the law, and a command, wherein they ought and might have been instructed, are also imputed to those, who commit them; altho they were done without any actual knowlege of the evil, and that they had no inspiration before hand. After this, he shew'd them, in several of the Jesuits books, he there found, and wherein these matters were handled, the doctrine he had expounded to them.

You may now perceive, added the Abbot, whether this proposition, *That no action can be imputed for a sin, if God gives us not before its committal the knowlege of its evil, and an inspiration that stirs us up to avoid it*; whether I say this proposition, which according to the Jesuits, is so many ways false, be, among them, an *indubitable principle*, as they are here made to say.

It is true, sayd Eudoxus, that, as to this last point, the Jesuits cou'd not declare themselves more positively, than they have done in their book, intituled, *L'erreur du Péché Philosophique combatuë par les Jésuites*. No body cou'd defend themselves

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themselves better, than they have done upon this occasion; wherein it was certainly seen, and with good reason, that they took the thing to heart. Here is the book you mention, sayd the Abbot, drawing it out of his pocket. Ho! sayd *Cleander* laughing, nothing is more evident, Mr. Abbot, than that you have prepared your self for this combat. Ha! could you doubt it, answer'd the Abbot? could you believe I could have been so perfect in these matters, if I had not reflected on them anew; and would it not have been a piece of rashness in me, to have spoken of them, before two men of your sense, without having first consider'd very well, what I was to say; and before two witty men, who, notwithstanding all their equity, would have had, like many others, some small malicious pleasure, to see the Jesuits found somewhat less innocent, than, I say, they are in the things, whereof they stand accus'd. Here in the nineteenth page is the place you speak of, continued he.

"Yes, Sir, of so great number of Jesuits, Interpreters of Scripture, School Divines, Controversists, Casuists, or Canonists, Writers of Spiritual treatises, Preachers, and even Philosophers themselves, I defy you, to find one single man, who, treating of ignorance, or inadvertence, in reference to our duty, has not distinguished, that which is blamable, from that which is not; and who has not sayd, that neither ignorance, nor inadvertence, do's ever excuse from the evil one is ignorant of, by a criminal wilful neglect. M Behold,

Behold, sayd *Cleander*, an induction general enuff, and very exact; which, without leaving out one, runs thro' all the several sorts of writers; and it must needs be, that the Jesuits have sayd nothing but truth on this occasion, since no body has thought fit to contradict them, or shew the contrary. That therefore which the Jesuits wou'd say, continued the Abbot, by the proposition, which *Pascal* attributes to 'um, or rather, that which they wou'd say, by some other propositions, which comes near to that, and which he reduces to it, to poyson more easily their doctrine, is no more than this, that every actual sin is voluntary, either in it self, or in its cause; that men do never offend God by necessity; and that to be criminal, even in the state of corrupted nature; they must be free agents, and under no necessity. You are not now to learn the reason, why this wou'd please neither *Pascal* nor his friends.

* This doctrine of the Jesuits is the contradictory of that which was condemn'd in Iansenius by Innocent the Xth. and Alexander VII.

* Well, sayd *Eudoxus*, we are satisfied in this article. But I am not yet, answer'd the Abbot; read again, if you please, this very passage, and that which follows.

Eudoxus read, a second time, this passage of *Pascal*. "We do then maintain, as an undoubted principle, That no action can be imputed as a sin, if God gives us not before we commit it, a knowledge of the evil that's in it, and an inspiration to incite us to avoid it. Do you now comprehend what I wou'd be at? astonish'd at such a discourse, according to which, all sins of surprise, and such as men

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Hold there, sayd the Abbot, what notion have you of these words? They give me to understand, answer'd Eudoxus, as all the rest of the Letter do's, that, according to the doctrine of the Jesuits, as Mr. Pascal explaves it, there can be no sin of surprise; that all the crimes of harden'd libertins, who run headlong and wilfully into a forgetfulness of God, are no longer sins; and that, as he says, some pages after, when once a man has prevail'd upon himself, to think no more of God, he cannot afterwards offend him; that he is very silly, who sins but by halves; that these half sinners, who still retain some love for virtue, shall all be dam'd; but as for the thorough pack'd sinners, harden'd sinners, sinners without any mixtures of goodness, complete, and perfect sinners, there can be no place found for them in hell.

But, by the exposition I have made you, answer'd the Abbot, and by all, I have shewn you, in the Jesuits books, can you form to your self the same kind of notion; no, by no means, sayd Eudoxus; I conceive just the contrary; for it is evident to me, that there are many sins of surprise; as your habitual swearers fully demonstrate; and that the forgetting God, being voluntary in libertins, it must necessarily be, according to the Society's Divinity, that they are guilty of all the crimes they act, during this forgetfulness; and that they will be infinitely more punish'd for them, than the half sinners who have still some love for virtue. In a

word, we must acknowledge, that this of Pascal is a meer calumny.

I am now content, answer'd the Abbot, but if you desire to satisfy your selves, yet more fully upon this subject, read the Jesuits second Letter concerning Philosophic sin. See, how in that they explain it, "The new heresy im-
 puted to us, is, to maintain that all ignorance, and all forgetfulness of God, altho
 voluntary, and blamable, as in Atheists, Idolaters, Libertins, and all other sinners, whose
 examples the accuser has made use of, to expound this heresy, that all manner of ignorance, and all kind of forgetfulness of God,
 are sufficient, to secure us against committing any sins, but philosophic sins, which do not
 offend God, we all condemn this as an abominable heresy; but, at the same time, we say,
 "it was never taught by any of our writers.

Art. 2. 3.
 4. &c.

Read this book also, *de l'erreur du Péché Philosophique combattue par les Jésuites* pag. 17. &c. here you will see the whole doctrine, of the Society upon this subject, perfectly expounded; that which, as well the Jesuit Divines, as the Thomists, and all others mean, when they say, that to offend God, the malice of the sin is requir'd to be known, is, that one must reflect upon the evil that is in it, as the Libertins often do, in spite of their forgetting God. In a word, you'll find in these two books, all that relates to this matter, admirably well handled, and clear'd from all difficulties.

The Abbot also made them read a passage in

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Suarez, where he explains what inadvertence is; and do's it, in the most handlom, and most intelligible manner, so abstracted and so hard a subject is capable of; which, for its difficulties, was purposely chosen by the Jansenists, to confound those things, which every body is not able to make plain and clear.

*Suarez de
aetibus
hum.
disp. 7.*

Let us go on, sayd *Cleander* to the Abbot, you have, for certain, sav'd the body of the Jesuits; but I know not whether you are able, upon the same article, to save Father *Bauni*, *qui tollit peccata mundi*, says *Pascal*, and as was formerly sayd by Mr. *Hallier*, when he fell out with the Jesuits.

*Who
takes a
way the
sins of the
world,*

Altho I were not able, answer'd the Abbot, I shou'd be but little concern'd for't. And I am perswaded, the Jesuits themselves wou'd not be much troubled, and wou'd be the first to condemn him, if he had maintain'd the doctrin, *Pascal* ascribes to him. But let us see how the matter stands.

Then they read in *Pascal* the words of Father *Bauni*, taken out of his *Somme des Péchez* written in French. To sin and be guilty before God, a man must know the thing he wou'd do is evil, or, at least, doubt, or fear it; or judge, that God takes no pleasure in the action he is about, and that he has forbidden it, and, yet notwithstanding, skip over all rubs and difficulties, go on and commit it.

*Collecti-
on of
sins.*

After what I have told you, sayd the Abbot, of the doctrin, held by all the Jesuits, it is not difficult, to understand the meaning of Father *Bauni's* proposition. To sin, says he, and make a

man guilty in the sight of God, he must know, that is to say, he must not be ignorant by an involuntary ignorance, that the thing he is about to do, is not good; at least he must doubt it, &c. how do you prove, ask'd Cleander, that this was his meaning.

That, is not my business nor the Jesuits, answer'd the Abbot; they accuse them; they give an ill sense to one of their authors propositions; their adversaries, who are the accusers, ought to convince them and make out their allegations: but I will not be so exact with you, nor stand upon that formality, since it is your desire I will prove it.

First, Bauni teaches, or supposes, every where, when occasion offers, that voluntary ignorance, which is call'd *vincible* do's not excuse from sin. This is positive, and makes his proposition blameless. Read, sayd he to 'um, the 775 page of the edition of *la Somme des Péchez*, whence *Pascal* has taken what he reprehends, and see how this Father proves, by Scripture, that voluntary ignorance is blamable. Such ignorance, says he, is vicious, according to the Apostle's saying to the Corinthians, *ignorans ignorabitur*.

But this position, That voluntary ignorance do's not excuse from sin, is so indisputable, continu'd he, and so certain among the Divines, that when they treat of the knowlege requisit to sin, they do not believe it necessary, to advertise, that they speak only of the knowlege, which is oppos'd to involuntary ignorance. This is suppos'd clear of it self, and is understood in all the

the propositions, which a thousand Divines have made, like that of Father *Bauni*; and *Wendrok* was never more wicked, or more ignorant in Divinity, than when he argued upon this matter against that Jesuit.

Not. in 4th
epist.

In the second place, the reason which *Bauni* sets down for his assertion, is, of it self; sufficient, to make his meaning known; and this reason, is the same with Saint *Thomas's*, upon the like occasion; which is, *that a man is not to be blamed for any action, that is not voluntary*: these are the express termes *Bauni* makes use of, immediatly after his proposition. Whence it only follows, that to sin a man must not be ignorant by an involuntary ignorance, that the action he do's is evil; because, no other ignorance hinders the action, from being wilful, and by consequence, according to *Bauni*; from being a sin. I understand this, sayd *Eudoxus*, and to me his meaning seems very plain and manifest.

Bauni
pag. 506.

In the third place, to confound and bring to nothing all the other malicious reflexions, which *Pascal* and *Wendrok* make upon this doctrine, the Abbot made *Eudoxus* and *Cleander* read, what Father *Bauni* added, presently after, to explicate the same assertion. *The will*, says he, *carry's it self to, fastens upon, and earnestly desires the forbidden object; which it may do, either formally, or virtually, or very silently: formally, when, by an express act, it loves, or hates, embraces, or rejects, what is represented to it, by the understanding either as good or as bad. It's thought to consent to it, virtually,* (mind well the following words, sayd

the Abbot) *when the actual and formal consent, before given, still continues; as we ought to believe it do's, when it is not recal'd, interrupted, or hinder'd by some contrary act.*

You see, added he, that to commit a sin, Bauni do's not require an actual reflexion in the very instant of sinning; and that, according to him, it is enuff, this knowlege shou'd have preceded, to the end that the inadvertance a man may have, even in the instant of acting, may be blamable.

He also shew'd the 92 page, where he speaks in this manner. *To swear a thing, which even might be true at random, and with the danger of being forsworn for want of having well examin'd it before hand, is a mortal sin; in as much as that danger is thought voluntary in it's cause, which is the ill and pernicious custom of mens swearing rashly, and without heeding what they say.*

Could a Divine, that talks at this rate, understand the present proposition in this sense, *that, without an actual reflexion, in the very instant of sinning upon its evil, no man can ever be guilty of a sin?* it is then evident, that his proposition, naturally, signifies nothing else, but that to sin, one must know, or at least doubt, whether there be no evil in the action he is about, that is to say, he must not be ignorant by an invincible ignorance that it is sinful.

It is manifest, answer'd Cleander, by what you have sayd, that this was the good Father's meaning. But why do not the Casuists take care, not to make such equivocal propositions, as
give

give men a handle to catch at an occasion to misconter them? you do not sufficiently thank me, replied the Abbot, for having taken the pains to prove a thing, which requir'd no proof, and to refute so frivolous an accusation, as that was. However, I have yet patience enuff left, to answer, without being angry, the instance you put me. You know, that in the business of arts and sciences, it is the usage of words, commonly receiv'd among men, of the same calling, that takes away equivocation, and determines the sense of a proposition. Now, among Divines, as I have already given you to understand, this usage, in reference to the present matter, leaves no ambiguity in Father Bauni's proposition; and before the author of *La Theologie Morale* whom *Pascal* has follow'd, no body had thought of giving any other meaning, than that, which we have given it.

For, when the Divines dispute of the nature of sin, they all say, after Saint *Austin* and Saint *Thomas*, that to be voluntary is essential to sin; and they explain the definition, and what it is to be voluntary, by the example of the sins to which this quality do's evidently agree; that is to say, by the sins committed, with a perfect knowlege and a formal reflexion on the evil of the actions. After which, either in answering the objections, or otherwise, they never fail, to extend this definition to some kinds of sins, to which it do's not agree so clearly. Such is Original sin, which they shew to have been, in its own way, voluntary; such are the sins, custom makes

makes us commit by surprise, without any actual thought; such are the sins, caused by the ignorance, which is call'd *vincible*; and it is, according to this method of Divines, which is the method also of Saint *Austin* himself, that Father *Bauni* has defin'd sin; saying, that, upon occasion, he extends his definition, as he has done in pursuance of what is commonly practis'd in the Schooles, to the other sorts of sins, which are voluntary only in their cause.

If this be so, sayd *Eudoxus*, Father *Bauni* was far from being in the wrong, for explaining himself in that manner; but, on the contrary, they were very much out; and shew'd a great deal of malice, or of ignorance, who made a business on't, or objected any thing against him upon this account. I will convince you, that this is the common custom, sayd the Abbot, not by the authority of Jesuit Divines (they perhaps may be suspected) nor even of the *Thomists* or *Scotists*, but by the very Theses of the *Sorbonne*. Read this passage of the Jesuits answer to *La Theologie Morale* upon this subject. Thus the Apologist spakes page 7. part 2. I have before me while I am writing this a Thesis defended in *Sorbonne*, in the year 1640, the 3. October by one *Peter Bunot*, Mr. *Morel* President, approv'd by Mr. *Forget*, at that time Syndic, and Curat of Saint *Nicolas* of *Chardonnet* wherein are these words, *Ad omne peccatum pre-requisitur expressa cognitio malitia moralis, vel expressa dubitatio ne actu eliciendo talis malitia moralis inexistat.*

Father

Father Bauni's proposition seems to be but the translation of this Thesis, which says, in Latin, that which he has sayd in bad French. The same Apologist quotes also an other proposition, exactly like it of Mr. Du-val Professor of Sorbonne, adding what is very true, that Saint Thomas, Saint Bonaventure, Saint Antonin, Gerson, &c. speak, in this matter, just as Bauni has done.

I find you are strongly provided on this point, answer'd Eudoxus. I am yet stronger then you imagin, replied the Abbot; I'll appeal to the authority of a Judg, I am sure you will not refuse; casting his eyes, at the same time, towards the shelf, whereon he had espied upon his coming in, the writings of an author he was about to quote. I pray, sayd he to Cleander, who sat near it, reach me down that parchment manuscript. Cleander took it down, and read upon the back of the book, *Traité des péchez, distillé en Sorbonne par Monsieur de Sainte-Beuve*. Is it possible, cry'd out Cleander, that Mr. de Sainte-Beuve shou'd, at this time of day, be Father Bauni's security in this matter?

The Abbot, who, had seen these writings, of which there are thousands of Copies spread all over France, open'd the place, where he treats of this subject, and gives it to Eudoxus, who began to read, that which follows in Latin.

"To make an irregular motion in the sensual
 "appetit become a mortal sin, there must be a
 "full and perfect reflexion of reason, by which
 "this act is formally known to be bad; and
 "prohibited; unless that, perhaps, the man,
 "shou'd

Trac. de
 pecc. dist.
 5. sec. 1.
 art. 2.

"shou'd freely, and knowingly, have given oc-
 "casion for that irregular motion or delight;
 "The first part is prov'd; because if this adver-
 "tence be but by halv's, the action cannot be
 "perfectly voluntary, as it ought to be, to
 "make it a mortal sin, therefore, &c. the se-
 "cond is prov'd, because, if the bare action,
 "the matter it self, and not the evil of it, be
 "but reflected on, then that, which otherwise
 "might be criminal in it, not being voluntary,
 "do's not become sinful.

Ho! without doubt, sayd *Eudoxus*, *Bauni* is
 now safe enuff. I am sure *Mr. Arnauld* and all
 his Party wou'd much rather pardon him, than,
 with him, condem *Mr. de Sainie-Beuve*. But
 let us proceed.

Since you have put me upon the proof, con-
 tinued the Abbot, I cou'd find in my heart to
 tire you with my quotations; as indeed I cou'd
 easily do, considering the many passages I have
 ready to produce upon this subject. But since
 you ask for quarter, I will give it you, upon
 condition, you'l listen to one which I must
 needs read you. All its strength and authority
 depends upon one of *Mr. Arnauld's* best friends,
 a Doctor of *Louvain*, whose name and qualities
 I'll give you an account of, after I have read
 you his doctrin. Here it is, just as I saw it
 in the Thesis, faithfully reported by the author
 of the book, intitl'd *L'erreur du Péché Philo-
 sophique combattue par les Jésuites*.

"To sin mortally, a man must have a perfect,
 "intire consideration, an expresse knowlege of
 "the

“the sin, or of the danger there is of committing one, or, at least, a formal doubt, or some fear, that the action may be sinful.

Mind now the reflexion made by the author of the book just now cited, addressing himself to his adversary. “Do you not think, that this “was dictated by some Jesuit? and yet nevertheless do you believe him? it was Doctor “*Pontanus*, the famous approver of *Austin* of “*Ypres*, whom the Church has condemn’d, and “of the *Mons* translation of the new Testament “which he cou’d not understand (for he was “ignorant of the *French*) it was, I say, this “*Pontanus* one of the Jesuits most vehement “enemies, that sign’d this Thesis, and presided “when it was defended for, it is one of “the statutes of the University of *Louvain*, that “no Doctor shou’d approve, or preside at any “Thesis, if any thing be therein contain’d, “contrary to the opinion of the University.

We have already more than enuff, sayd *Eudoxus*; I pray let the rest alone; and let us also pass by what *Pascal* reproches Father *Anat* with: I remember to have read this passage in that Jesuits book; he intended but to say, that God commands us nothing that’s impossible; and if it was to be suppos’d, that it was impossible for us, without actual grace, to avoid sin, God wou’d either give us this grace, or else wou’d not impute that sin to us: which doctrine is contradictory to that which is condemn’d in *Jansenius*. This is neither the case of Libertins, nor of harden’d sinners; nor of customary sinners,

ners, nor of those, who sin by ignorance, or a voluntary inadvertance of their duties. This single passage, when I read it, made me think that *Pascal* was not well able to make this out: since to support his cause, he was forc'd to have recourse to so weak a proof; and that it was not usual with Father *Anat*, to mistake, or speak improperly in matters of Divinity.

Notwithstanding, answer'd the Abbot, see how *Pascal* triumphs; do but harken to that, which immediately follows Father *Anat*'s proposition. "Ho! how pleas'd I am, sayd I to him, "to perceive what fine consequences may be "drawn from this doctrine. I clearly see what "will follow; what mysteries do offer them- "selves to me. I see more men, without com- "parison, justified by this ignorance; and this "forgetfulness of God, than by Grace and by "the Sacraments. What enthusiasme, continu'd the Abbot, what vision, or rather what terrible malice is this?

Let us here take our leave of Father *Anat*, sayd *Cleander* interrupting him; but let us not yet suffer Father *Bauni* to escape. I see another thing in this Letter, which deserv's some reflexion: it is what *Pascal* says, that his book *la Somme des Péchez* was condemn'd at Rome, as well as by the Bishops of France; and this also which *Wendrok* adds, that this proposition of *Bauni* was formerly censur'd in *Sorbonne*.

I had much rather, answer'd the Abbot, have to do in this matter with your Jansenist, Master of this library, than with you. For before I

would

would answer him, or make him take notice of a small touch of Jansenian honesty in this very passage, I shou'd ask him what his thoughts were of the censure of the *Roman* Inquisition, whether he wou'd be content, that we shou'd, on both sides, refer our disputes to this tribunal; if he wou'd, the Jesuits might freely abandon, or give up *Bauni* to the Inquisitors severity; but then they wou'd have no farther need to make any Apology or defense for themselves against the Provincial Letters, since they are all to be seen, at large, condemn'd, by the decrees of the Inquisition.

Ha! what do you say, sayd *Eudoxus* interrupting him, it is but two days since I read in a letter from one of these Gentlemen, on occasion of the *Mons* new Testament, that it is very often a mark of the goodness of a book to be censur'd at Rome. If this be so, sayd he laughing, *Bauni* and *Pascal*, far from being confounded, or thunderstruck by any sentence of that Court, cou'd not be blacken'd, or so much as wounded in their reputation. It must be acknowledg'd, continu'd he, that there is something very odd in this business, and wherein it do's not seem to me, that the Jansenists pretensions are consequent to themselves, for that a book, made by a Jesuit, being put into the *Index expurgatorius* shou'd be sufficient to make it infamous, but that the putting into it the Provincial Letters and the Testament of *Mons*, which translation has been condemn'd by two Popes, shou'd be a sign, or testimony of their excellency, and make them be the better lik'd, esteem'd, and valu'd,

appears

Letter 2
un Con-
teiller.

appears highly improbable; and till better made out, can never be believ'd by men in their senses.

However it be, answer'd the Abbot, they do not much trouble themselves at *Rome*, in giving the public their reasons for putting a book into the *Index*. That is sometimes done, for the omission of some formality in the impression; and sometimes for asserting, or laying down, some principles, differing from some maxims of the Canonists of *Italy*, with whom those of *France* do not always agree; something of this kind there might have been in Father *Bauni's* books, concerning the jurisdiction of the King's Officers over the Clergy; which possibly might have displeas'd the Inquisitors, and in reality, 'tis well known, that those, who solicited their condemnation, urg'd it upon this motive; even those who daily endeavor, to make themselves be valu'd in *France*, by running down the Ultramon-
tanes, and pretending themselves zealous for the Liberties of the *Gallican Church*. But, that which is most remarkable is, that the Provincial Letters were always look'd upon at *Rome*, as defamatory Libels, full of calumnies and impostures; and which is more, full of errors, and, all over, stuffed with Jansenisme. You have nothing now to do, but to guess, for which of these motives, chiefly, they were condemn'd by the Inquisition.

As for what relates to the Bishops of *France*, pursued the Abbot, let us again read *Pascal's* words. "It is some prejudice, sayd my Jansenist, whispering softly in my ear, that this
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"book was condemn'd at Rome; and by the
"Bishops of France. Wou'd you not believe,
sayd he, turning towards *Cleander*, when *Pascal*
says Father *Bauni's* book was condemn'd by the
Bishops of France, that this must have been
done, in a National Council? I conceive, at
least, answer'd *Cleander*, according to this ex-
pression, that it must have been done in an
assembly of the Clergy.

No, reply'd the Abbot; all this was no more,
but that *Bauni* was censur'd by the late Arch-
bishop of *Sens Gondrin*, by the late Bishop of
Beauvais, and by the Bishop of *Comenges*, who,
not many years since, died Bishop of *Tournay*.

Was it no more then that, sayd *Cleander*? this
is as if the Emperor shou'd make an Imperial
decree, or proclamation against one of the Ger-
man Princes, who shou'd dare to declare against
the Prince of *Orange*. *Bauni* was a Jesuit, and a
great Anti-Jansenist, which was sufficient to
make him lose his cause at that bar.

I will say nothing else to you of the *Sorbonne*,
continu'd the Abbot, but that it is inconceiv-
able, they shou'd then censure in a Jesuits
book, a proposition, which they had heard,
with respect, from the mouth of Mr. *de Sainte-
Beuve*; and which they had publicly defended
some months before, as you have seen by the
Thesis I have quoted to you; and shou'd en-
deavor to make Father *Bauni* believe he had
taken it in a different sense, from that which is
commonly allow'd in Divinity, and which it
ought not to have, according to its proper
principles,

principles, and which he cou'd not have given it, I do not say, without heresy, but without the greatest extravagance imaginable. Believe me, in all the wranglings and disputes they so often had in those days with the Society, the Jesuits labour'd under great difficulties, not so much to defend themselves, but to defend themselves, with that moderation they always thought themselves oblig'd to observe, even at the expence of their own interest, and without being wanting to the respect they were willing to shew, to some communities, or bodys which did not treat them with the same kind of respect, and of whom some particulars had press'd hard upon, and push'd 'um with the greatest rage and malice possible.

It is certain, sayd *Eudoxus*, that the Jansenists then studied all the means they cou'd think of, to make all the world fall furiously upon the Jesuits: and they had a wonderful effect; what they insinuated into several Communities, do's yet remain in some; where great pains are still taken to feed and keep up the humor.

That is but too true, answer'd the Abbot, but let us make an end of examining this Letter; where there is nothing more, particularly relating to the Jesuits Morals. Only give me leave, to make in two words a short reflexion among other things, which, of themselves are obvious enuff, chiefly concerning the malice of the author of the Provincial Letters.

This reflexion, is upon the great weakness of *Pascal's* whole discourse, upon what, I pray
you

you, are all these consequences of loose Morals, in favor of the Libertins, the ungodly, the revengful, the blasphemers, and the Epicureans, founded, of which he makes the Jesuits the authors? they are really built, but upon what he has thought fit, to make his imaginary Jesuit say, touching a necessity of an inspiration from God, and an actual reflexion upon the evil of a wicked action, to make it to become a sin. All this is grounded, upon the proposition of Father Bauni, and that of Father Annat, who never meant what is attributed to 'um. The single distinction of sin, into that which is voluntary of it self, and into that which is but voluntary in its cause; and of that which is committed by an invincible, and involuntary ignorance, and that which is committed by the other ignorance, call'd vincible and voluntary, do's quite dispel and drive away all these his frightful phantoms or bugbears.

By that distinction, all *Pascal's* libertins, all his impudent unchast, barefac'd, sinners and his Epicureans, remain, according to the Jesuits principles, guilty and convicted of all the crimes, from which he pretends these Divines have absolv'd them. The little I have explain'd to you of their Divinity, has made all this clear; and palpable; and yet nevertheless, it is a wonderful thing, that in all the specious, fine accusations of the heresy of the philosophic sin, (which was look'd upon at first as a thunderbolt, that wou'd have crush'd and broken the Jesuits to pieces, tho' all of a sudden it fell and came to

nothing) men shou'd be refer'd to the fourth Provincial Letter, as to a writing, that contain'd an evident demonstration of the matter of fact, after which the Jesuits ought not to be allow'd or admitted, to make any defense or excuse for themselves, of which I leave you to judge.

Mr. Abbot, sayd *Eudoxus*, interrupting him, to do you a pleasure, I'll repeat to you, what I heard a very judicious man at that time say. He had newly read the Jesuits second Letter, and the book you cited a little while ago, *L'erreur du peché philosophique*, &c. he sayd he wou'd laugh no more, nor take any farther delight in the pleasanteries of the fourth Provincial Letter; but yet wou'd make himself amends, by reading the serious and vehement accusations of the new heresy of the philosophic sin; at every article of which Mr. *Arnauld* made him laugh more than once. His reason was, that the Jesuits had demonstrated two things in these books; first, that none of their Divines ever doubted but the ungodly, the libertins, and the customary sinners, were guilty of sin, and ought to be eternally punish'd for those very crimes, which they commit with least remorse and most quiet. Secondly, that the contrary cannot be infer'd, or prov'd from their principles; since it is certain, they all hold, not one excepted, that neither ignorance, nor inadvertance, neither blindness, nor custom, when wilful, can excuse sinners, or hinder them from incurring the penalties of Hell, the due reward, and natural consequence of their ill actions. These

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two matters of fact, sayd he, which the Jesuits have clearly prov'd, and so as to convince all the world, destroys the whole appearance of any probability, in the pleasant things sayd in the fourth Provincial Letter; and, consequently, leav's them insipid, without salt, and without wit. For there is nothing flatter, than raillery without a cause, a jest, without the least foundation of truth, or reason, which therefore all men of sense have in horror and indignation.

For which reason, the anger, and sometimes the fury of Mr. *Arnauld*, in his five accusations of the Jesuits, for the philosophic sin, make men as often as they read them, ask what this good man wou'd be at? he has in hands, the the Professor of *Dijon's* writings, as he himself tells us, he has no more to do but to read them. This Professor himself has publish'd them, and by good proofs made them authentic; to the end the whole world might be witnesses of the purity of his faith, and of his opinions. The Jesuits condemn'd the expression in his Thesis, and own'd there was reason to contradict him. They cry out, and tell Mr. *Arnauld*, that he makes objections, and sprites for himself to answer and frighten away; that except the opinion of involuntary ignorance, which excuses from sin, hardly any thing of the rest, is either a conclusion, or a principle of their Divines: this they urge, and this they do indeed demonstrate. At that time, I believ'd this matter but by halv's, continu'd *Eudoxus*; but I am now as fully persuaded of it, sayd he

to the Abbot, as you your self can be. Let us therefore proceed to the fifth Letter.

The following part of the fifth Discourse.

WE have dispatch'd, sayd the Abbot, in our former Dialogues, a good part of what is handled in this fifth Letter; of which the main subject, is the doctrine of probability. There remain only some particular cases to be examin'd; the first, that offers it self, sayd *Eudoxus* laughing, is a small matter, nothing, in a manner; he only reproches the Jesuits, that, with a subtile direction of intention, they permit the Christians of *China* and the *Indies*, to commit Idolatry. Let us read it, it is at the 75 page of my edition. "By this "means they have (Directors) for all sorts of "persons; and answer so well, according to "what is demanded of them, that when they "are in countrys, where a crucified God passes "for folly, they suppress the scandal of the "cross, and only preach a glorious, and not a "suffering Jesus; as they have done in *China* "and the *Indies*; where they have allow'd the "Christians to commit, even, Idolatry, by that "subtile invention of making them hide, under "their garments, the image of our Savior; to "which they teach them to refer, mentally, "their public adorations of the Idol, *Chacin-* "choan, and of *Keum-fucum*; as *Gravina* the Do- "minican reproches them, and as the *Spanish* "memorial presented to *Philip* the IV King of "Spain,

“Spain, by the Cordeliers of the Philippin Ilands,
 “reported by Thomas Hurtado in his book of
 “Martyrs page 427 do's witness. Insomuch
 “that the Congregation of Cardinals de Propa-
 “ganda Fide, was oblig'd to prohibit the Jesuits,
 “in particular, under pain of excommunicati-
 “on, from allowing, on any pretence whatso-
 “ever, the adorations of Idols; and from con-
 “cealing the mystery of the Cross, from those
 “they instructed in Christianity; expressly com-
 “manding them, not to receive any to Bap-
 “tism, who had not a full knowlege of it; and
 “strictly injoyning them, to expose a Crucifix
 “in all their Churches, as is at large set forth,
 “in the decree of this Congregation, dated the
 “9 July 1646, signed by Cardinal Caponi. Thus
 “you see by what means they have spread them-
 “selves over all the earth by the favor of, &c.

I do profess to you, sayd Cleander, that these
 things are so very surprizing, the heads of the
 accusation so black, and also far fetch'd, that I
 had always much ado, to believe them true, up-
 on the report of the authors of *la Morale-pratique*.

Ha ! why not, answer'd the Abbot; are you
 also as hard to be perswaded of these other cu-
 rious particularities? That the Jesuits were the
 cause of the persecution in Japon; which was
 always attributed to the *Hollanders*; and that it
 was not the *Dutch*, but the Jesuits, who made
 the Kings of *China* and *Japon* believe, that the
Spanish Monks endeavor'd to get a footing in
 those countrys, for no other end, but to sub-
 ject them to the King of Spain: that the Jesuits
 did

Morale
pratique.
tom 1.
pag. 209.

did not only cross and drive away the other Missioners, but also persecute them to death. That it was public all over *Spain*, that they had thrice poyson'd a Doctor, call'd *John Espino*, and committed a thousand other such peccadillos, of which they assure us they make no more scruple, than *French* high way men wou'd do.

You raily, Mr. Abbot, sayd *Eudoxus* interrupting him; well then, answer'd he, let us speak seriously. I say, if all these fine things, which they tell us, are true, the Popes, the Kings of *Spain*, and the Kings of *Portugal*, are a thousand times more to be blam'd, than the Jesuits. For 'tis to them, that all these complaints, all these memorials, and all these petitions against the Society were made: and, yet notwithstanding all this, these Popes, and these Kings; insensible of the interest of the Church and of their States, send the Jesuits to *China* and the *Indies*: pray, and press them, to cultivate the harvests, that are there; altho they are every day told, that they spoil and ruin them: and which is more, they exhort 'um to continue and to behave themselves, as hitherto they have done; expressing, on all occasions, how much they are satisfied with their conduct.

To this purpose *Urban VIII*, under whom the informers began to tell their stories in *Rome*, declared himself in his Bull, directed to the Christians of *Japon*, in the year 1626. And *Alexander VII* in 1655, writing to the Emperess *Helena*, the wife of *Yam-lié*, at that time, Emperor of some of the Provinces of *China*, and

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in a decree of the year 1656, expressly, approv'd the Jesuits proceedings in China. Clement IX, in an other decree, in 1669, confirms that of his Predecessor. Innocent XI did the same in what he writ to the famous Father *Verbieft*, and afterwards in an other letter to the Christians of *Tunquin*, when he sent them back the Jesuits, as they had, for a long time, earnestly desired: and as did also *Alexander VIII* and *Innocent XII* in their Bulls to the Emperor of China. Wherein the first gave great commendations of the Jesuits, and the second confirm'd all his Predecessor had sayd in their favor.

3. Dec.
1681.

7. Jan.
1689.
25. July.
1690. and
2. Sep.
1691.

This is for certain very strong, Mr. Abbot, sayd *Eudoxus*, but a little too general: let us come to the matter of fact. The Decree of 1646, and the allowance of Idolatry.

It seems to me, answer'd the Abbot, a little briskly, that all I have sayd to you comes directly enuff to this matter of fact; and that, without much arguing, it is easy to conclude, by the Popes, and Kings of *Spain's* proceeding, by their Bulls, and Decrees, that all, which has been sayd upon this subject against the Jesuits, are mere, perfect, calumnies; and that, if their enemies cou'd produce as strong proofs against them, as those I have alledg'd for their justification, we shou'd soon see finer declamations against them, than those wherewith they have already fill'd six or seven tomes of the *Morale-pratique*. But this is the fate of these Fathers; some whimsical, chimerical, vision of any one of their enemies, or a popular report, rais'd,

rais'd, God knows how, is enuff to blacken them; and yet to acquit and vindicat their reputations, the authentic acts must always be expected. A hundred years hence, the Bombs of *Namur*, will be a matter of fact, altogether as clear, and certain, in the annals of some *Port-Royal* man of that time, as the Gun-powder treason in *England* is, in the accounts of the Protestants of that Island. Yet, since you will have it so, let us come to this fine passage of *Pascal*; upon which I will make you some short remarks, which I will justify and make good, either here or at home.

First, as touching this decree, mention'd in the Provincial Letters, *Pascal* must needs have spoken without book; and neither he, nor those who engaged him to write, ever saw or read it; there was no decree made by the *Propaganda* on this subject in 1646. but in 1645. nor was it dated in the month of *July*, but in the month of *September*, nor signed by Cardinal *Capani*, but by Cardinal *Ginetti*; and thus all these little circumstances, which *Pascal* affects to set down so exactly, to gain himself more credit, serve but to make his testimony the more suspicious, as coming from a man, very ill inform'd, who writes at random, and upon the credit of very uncertain memorials.

But from these simple falsities, let us go on to calumnies. Not one of those, who reads this passage of *Pascal*, but thinks the Jesuits were heard and convicted of all these crimes, in a full congregation, and condemn'd by a decree,
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and afterwards admonish'd, and oblig'd to change their practise, in the instruction of their Profelites, and new Converts, and forc'd, more especially, to make them detest Idolatry, and the adorations they had allow'd of to *Chachin-Choam* and *Keum-fucum*, or *Confucius*; and, yet notwithstanding, there is nothing more false; and since you desire the particularities I pray harken to the story.

After the Missioners of other Orders went into *China*, several memorials against the Jesuits, were sent to *Rome*, upon the subject we now discourse of; but more especially, among others, two. The first, was from two Bishops of the *Philippin* Islands, and the other, from a *Dominican* Missioner, call'd *John Baptist Morales*. The Bishops memorial did not give the Jesuits any long trouble; for, some time after, these two Prelats writ to the Pope, that being inform'd of the contrary, of what they had writ before upon false relations, they thought themselves bound in Conscience, to justify the Fathers of the Society, against so unjust accusations, and to defend with all their might, the innocence of these Fathers, as well as the truth it self.

In 1633.

Father *Morales* did not forbear proposing his difficulties to the Congregation, of which these following were two. *Whether it were lawful to prostrate before the Idol Chin-choam and to offer Sacrifice to Confucius*. The Jesuits, who very well saw, that these questions were made in prejudice to them, had nothing to defend themselves with, to the world, but the *Philippin* Bishops

Bishops retractation. I say to the world, because the Congregation, without summoning them, was content, themselves, to answer Father Morales's questions; in the greatest part whereof, no more than in these, there was no manner of difficulty. Hereupon follow'd a decree of the Pope; wherein the answers of the Congregation were approv'd, and a prohibition made of proceeding otherwise in *China*, than according to those answers: one of which was, that it was unlawful, to Sacrifice to *Confucius*. This prohibition then, was, not particular to the Jesuits, as *Pascal* says, (and that is a remarkable circumstance of the calumny) but to all Missioners in general, and in particular, of whatsoever order, profession, or institution, they were of. *Omnibus & singulis Missionarijs cujuscunque, Ordinis, Religionis, & Instituti*; and to the Jesuits also, *etiam Societatis Jesu*. This is the form of the stile, they have, for a long time, used in all decrees, relating to Religious Orders; and all this as the decree goes on, till the Pope, or the holy See, shall otherwise ordain; *Donec Sanctitas sua, vel sancta Sedes aliud ordinaverit*. Words, which, of themselves, do plainly shew, that the holy See desir'd to be more particularly inform'd of the matter of fact. for as to the matter of right, there was no ground, or pretence for another review, or deliberation; especially touching the pretended Sacrifice offer'd to *Confucius*. This thing speaks of it self.

And his Holiness afterwards was better and more

more effectually inform'd; for, some years after Father *Martini* the Jesuit, being come from *China* to *Rome*, fully acquainted both the Pope and the Congregation, with the whole affair; and how all that had given occasion, for the suspicion of Idolatry, was but some certain ceremonies, made at the reception of Doctors, in honor of *Confucius*, which are purely civil, and have no manner of relation to Religion; and that there was no Sacrifice, nor any thing like it. Whereupon the Congregation made an other decree, in favor of the Jesuits, in the year 1656, of which without doubt the author of the Provincial Letters, or his Commentators wou'd not have really been, or seem'd to be ignorant, if it had been, but as much against, as it was for, the advantage of the Fathers; whose innocence was thereby fully justify'd; and after which, all other Morals, but those of *Port-Royal*, wou'd have oblig'd *Pascal*, publicly, to retract, what he had thereupon writ in his Letters. This, indeed, answer'd *Eudoxus*, who had very attentively listened to the discourse, is, to talk knowingly. But where have you learnt this piece of knowledge, sayd he to the Abbot?

I have drawn it out of the spring head, answer'd he, out of the most authentic pieces that can be had of such a matter; and perhaps we shall find them here, or, at least, extracts of them. If your Jansenist be as curious, as you say he is, he will have, with all the tomes of the *Morale-Pratique*, the works of a Jesuit, who
has

has refuted some part of them; for, in these kind of disputes, men seldom fail, to have what is writ, on both sides, pro and con.

30. part.
pag. 196.
2. edit.

The Abbot went to the shelf, where the tomes of *la Morale-Pratique* stood, and thereon found the book intitl'd, *Défense des nouveaux Chrestiens & des Missionnaires de la Chine, &c.* He shew'd to *Eudoxus* in this book, the extracts of most part of the pieces, which prov'd what he had newly sayd, and particularly the extract of the decree of 1656. where he made him chiefly observe, that which here follows relating to the pretended adorations of *Confucius*.

"In the third place, they demand, whether
"it be lawful, for the Christian Students of
"China, when they take their degrees, to pra-
"ctise the ceremony, observ'd in *Confucius's*
"Hall; because there is not there any Sacrifi-
"cer, nor Minister, of the Idolaters. The
"Students, and the Philosophers alone, do
"meet there only to acknowledge *Confucius* as
"their Master, and this, with such ceremonies,
"as at their first institution, were only politi-
"cal, and terminated wholly to an honor pure-
"ly Civil. For those, who are to take their
"degrees, come together into the Hall, and
"there wait for the Doctors and Examinators;
"and that which they do, after the *Chinese* fa-
"shion, before this Philosopher's name and
"picture, is no more, than the same kind of
"ceremonies and respectful gestures, which all
"Scholars make to their teachers and professors
"whilst alive. After they have thus own'd Con-
"fucius

"*fucius* for their Master, the Chancelor gives
 "them their degrees, and then they withdraw.
 "You are also to know, that this Hall of Con-
 "*fucius* is a College, and not a Temple, pro-
 "perly so call'd, and that it is open to none
 "but Students.

The Answer.

"The holy Congregation has judg'd, that,
 "conformably to the demand here made, the
 "Christians in *China* may be permitted the use
 "of the abovemention'd ceremony, because it ap-
 "pears to be no more, than a pure civil respect.

Truly, sayd *Eudoxus*, since these Gentlemen
 had no mind to acquit the Jesuits from any
 blame upon this article, they had very good
 reason, not to mention this second decree.

I will shew you something yet more positive,
 answer'd the Abbot; and that is the Jesuits
 Apology, made upon this occasion by the Do-
 minicans themselves, *Dominicans* of some weight,
 and of more than common consideration, in
 the Order: Let us read, sayd he to them, this
 Apology in the *Deffense des nouveaux Chretiens*.
 The author of which, after he had set down
 several testimonials justifying the Jesuits con-
 duct, speaks in this manner.

"I know not whether Mr. *Jurieu*, and the
 "author of *la Morale-pratique* may not be temp-
 "ted to believe, that some Jesuit has writ, or
 "dictated this letter (of Father *Peter of Alcalá*
 "the *Dominican*, of which this author has made
 "an

*Défenſe
 des nouv.
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 1. Par.
 p. 210.*

"an extract,) they may if they please satisfy
 "themselves in the matter; but what will they
 "think of the following testimony, which con-
 "tains in it many others? it is the famous Do-
 "minican, Father John of Paz, an antient pro-
 "fessor in Divinity, Rector of the University
 "of Manile, Prior and Provincial of his Order.
 "This Father, in his answers, to the doubts
 "of the Missioners of Tunquin, printed at Ma-
 "nile in the year 1680, upon the questions
 "debated in China, touching the pretended
 "Idolatry (for they regard Tunquin also) having
 "given his opinion, altogether conformable to
 "the Jesuits, or rather to the decree of 1656,
 "he affirms, that his answers are founded, upon
 "several relations of the Religious of his own
 "Order in China. *hoc mihi constat ex variis*
 "*relationibus Religiosorum nostri Ordinis in Regno*
 "*Chinæ assistentium* but what need the
 "suffrages of particular men be insisted on, so
 "long as there are those of three superiors of
 "the first rate; I mean three Provincials of this
 "holy Order (of Saint Dominic) to wit the
 "Reverend Fathers, Charles Clement Gant, Francis
 "of Palma, and Philip Pardo? For these three
 "have, several times, recommended to their
 "Missioners in China by the authority they had
 "over them, to conform themselves absolutely
 "to the Society's practise, in what relates to
 "the decree of Alexander VII, forbidding them
 "to write any thing to the contrary. All this,
 "is to be seen in a letter, of the Reverend Fa-
 "ther Dominic Sarpetri, or of Saint Peter, directed
 "to

Parag 20.
 t. 198.

“to his Provincial, and the Definitors of the
 “Chapter of his Province; together with the
 “treatise he had writ about these matters. The
 “author of *la Morale-pratique* may one day see
 “it, but, in the mean time, we will give an
 “account of an other small piece, writ by the
 “same Missioner, which contains an abridg-
 “ment of what he has prov’d more at large in
 “his treatise.

*A Writing of the R. F. Dominic Sarpetri
 call’d of Saint Peter Missioner of the
 Order of Saint Dominic in China.*

“**I** Brother *Dominic Marie Sarpetri*, otherwise
 “call’d of Saint Peter, by nation a *Sicilian*,
 “of the Order of the Friars Preachers
 “formerly approv’d, for a Master, or Teacher
 “of Divinity, &c. do certify all, who shall
 “see these Letters; first, that being sent by the
 “Superiors of the Province of the *Rosary* of
 “the *Philippines* of my Order, to Preach the
 “Gospel in the Kingdom of *China*, and having
 “apply’d my self, by the command of the same
 “Superiors, with all possible care, for the space
 “of eight years, to examin the superstitions of
 “the *Chinese* Sects, I am perswaded, that the
 “practise of the Jesuit Missioners in that King-
 “dom, in permitting, or tolerating some cere-
 “monies, used by the *Chinese* Christians in ho-
 “nor of the Philosopher *Confucius*, and their
 “deceased ancestors; that their conduct is, I
 “say, not only without danger of sin, being
 O “ approv’d

" approv'd by the Congregation of the General
 " Inquisition, but, also considering the prin-
 " ciples of the chief Sects of *China*, that this opi-
 " nion, is more probable than the contrary, and
 " otherwise very useful, not to say necessary, to
 " open for the Infidels a gate to the Gospel....

" Secondly, I do certify, that the Jesuit Fa-
 " thers have declar'd and preach'd, in the King-
 " dom of *China*, Jesus Christ crucifi'd; and this
 " not only by word of mouth, but also by a
 " great number of books, which they have
 " made: that they do explain to their new
 " Converts, with a great deal of care and pains,
 " the mysteries of the Passion; that in some
 " places of these Fathers Residence, there are
 " Confraternities of the Passion; and that, very
 " lately, the persecuter of our holy faith, *Yam-*
 " *quam-sien* extremely reproch'd the Preachers
 " of the Gospel, with adoring a man crucifi'd, for
 " the God of heaven and earth; and all this he
 " prov'd out of the books written by the Jesuits.

Hold a little, sayd *Cleander*, interrupting him,
 till I do compare this with what is sayd in the
 Provincial Letters. *They answer so well, accor-*
ding to what is demanded, that in countrys, where a
crucified God passes for folly, they suppress the scandal
of the Cross, and only preach a glorious, not a
suffering Jesus; as they have done in China, and
the Indies. Go on now if you please.

" In the third place; I certify, and, as far as
 " is requisit, do protest, with an oath, that I
 " have not been prevail'd upon, by the entrea-
 " ties, or persuasions of any man whatever, but
 " only

“only by the meer love of truth, to give this
 “double certificat or testimonial for com-
 “ing to understand, on occasion of some doubts
 “propos’d, in 1645, to the sacred Congrega-
 “tion, by Father *John Baptist Morales*, a man
 “truly Apostolical, and actuated by a Christian
 “zeal, that some men, ill inclin’d to the Socie-
 “ty, had publish’d in *Europe*, and in the *Indies*,
 “that the Missioners in *China*, did not preach
 “Christ crucifi’d, and that they allow’d their
 “Christians to commit Idolatry, being hereup-
 “on afraid, that I shou’d seem by my silence to
 “approve the calumnies of those people, and
 “being also desirous to repair, to the utmost
 “of my power, the injur’d reputation of those
 “Fathers, I resolv’d to declare my opinion in
 “the foresaid manner, submitting it, neverthe-
 “less to a more infallible judgment, to wit to
 “that of the Church of *Rome*. In witness
 “whereof, I have writ this letter with my own
 “hand, in the house of the *Canton*, where we
 “are kept prisoners and in exile, this fourth
 “of *August* 1688.

Ha! what can be added to this, sayd *Eudoxus*
 very much surpris’d? But do you know, an-
 swer’d *Cleander*, that the author of the *Apology*,
 or *la deffense des nouveaux Chretiens*, &c. invites
 any, who shou’d scruple the truth of the pieces
 he has cited, to come and see them in the Je-
 suits College at *Paris*, where the originals, or
 very authentic and undoubted copies are kept?
 And do you also know, that I my self have
 satisfi’d my own curiosity in this matter? what,

sayd *Eudoxus*, have you then read the book, and seen the pieces he quotes? tell me seriously what you think of them?

The judgment I make of this book, answer'd *Cleander*, is, that it is an excellent piece, solid, instructive, well writ, and because of the variety of its matter, very diverting: it is, otherwise, very modest, and comes from a man, who knows how to contain himself upon occasion where the bare reading of what he writes often rais'd in me an indignation against those he confutes. The heinousness and enormity of the crimes impos'd upon the Jesuits, and the evidence of the matters of fact, and of the proofs by which he demonstrates their falsity, produces several different emotions in the minds of the readers, which invite and oblige them to a constant attention; and yet nevertheless, the author, with all his moderation, has let no advantage slip, which the matter cou'd furnish him with against his adversaries. In one word, this Apology, do's not only destroy all these black calumnies, we now discourse of, and which have been so far fetch'd, but also begets a prejudice against those, who have maliciously undertaken to spread and improve them in *Europe* and, for my own part, I can truly say, that nothing has made me more distrust the Provincial Letters, than this book.

I will find a time to read it, sayd *Eudoxus*, to satisfy my self, and to gratify Mr. Abbot, who, certainly, can have nothing more to add to what you have sayd. I cou'd yet, observe to
you

you, answer'd Mr. Abbot, an other falsity of *Pascal's* in this place we are now examining: and that is, what he says of the Jesuits permitting Idolatry, not only in *China*, but in the *Indies* also; which is more than ever was objected by any of their calumniators; who always confin'd themselves to *China*: and they had good reason not to extend their reproches to the *Indies*; which had they done, the imposture wou'd have been much more easily discover'd. Neither *Spaniards*, nor *Portugaise*, neither *English*, nor *Hollanders*, traded in *China*; whereas all these Nations drive a trade in the *Indies*; from whence the Jesuits might have had as many witnesses of their innocence as there were Merchants.

It is however, convenient to remark one thing, as we go along, and that is, that the toleration of Idolatry in *Japon*, wou'd have been much more necessary for the Jesuits than in *China*. For, after all, the persecutions which they suffer'd in this great Empire, were ^{no} more than either banishment, or imprisonment; whereas in *Japon*, they were almost always in continual hazard of their lives. Near upon a hundred Jesuits there Martyr'd, some by the dreadful torment of water, others, by being buried alive, and some, by being burnt by little and little, might, easily have freed themselves by directing mentally their adorations to a Crucifix, hid under their habits, whilst they seem'd openly to make them to Idols, as, is pretended, they allow their new Converts to do in the Temples of *China*. For surely, they ought

to be allow'd to have wit enuff To let Charity, according to the Proverb, *begin at home.*

Ha! what, Mr. Abbot, must I help you out in this matter, and make, upon this passage, an other important observation, which you have forgot? the main piece, which *Pascal* cites, for a proof of the Jesuits Idolatry in *China*, is, a *Spanish* memorial presented, as is sayd, to *Philip the IV.* King of *Spain* by the Cordeliers of the *Philippin* Islands; which writing you may remember was suppos'd, and falsly attributed to these Religious, to give it more authority: the true author not daring to publish it under his own name. This author was one *Diego Collado*, who, before, had made use of such kind of artifices, in other Satyres of this nature; an unquiet, troublesom fellow, convicted, like an other *Oates*, of an infinity of contradictions, and impostures; wherewith his memorials are fill'd, and to whom sufficient justice has been done, in the very history of his own Order; which recounts the many great troubles and disturbances he had occasion'd among them. The Jesuit Father, who shew'd me the pieces, that are already inserted, or yet to be, in the Apology of their Missions, gave me an account of this particular thing, and shew'd it me in the history of *China*, writ in *Spanish* by *Navaret*, an other *Dominican*, and a most obstinat accuser of the Jesuits, whilst he continued in his Order. But, being afterwards made an Archbishop, he became their great commender, their Patron, and their friend: his friendship and esteem was
so

so very great, that he founded them a College in Saint Domingo, the Archiepiscopal City.

Really, sayd *Eudoxus*, this is not the least considerable point of your animadversions, upon this first article of the fifth Provincial Letter: but it is hard, I confess, to make a more solid remark.

The matter deserv'd the pains I have taken, answer'd the Abbot; this article of Idolatry, is, for the Jesuits, the most cruel passage of all the Provincial Letters; and I have often told them, that it was, in some measure, the decisive point of all the rest: for, this being once suppos'd true, all that follows wou'd be taken for granted; at least wou'd not appear incredible. But, the falshood of it being once clearly prov'd and made out, the obstinat rage and malice of the Society's enemies, wou'd be evidently seen, to the scandal and indignation of all good men. The examination, continued he, of the other particular articles in this Letter of *Pascal*, require not so much discussion; which we shall therefore soon run over.

These are *Escobar's* cases about fasting, sayd *Cleander*; here they are, look upon them, together with the fine preface of the twenty four old men, and the four animals: let us read this passage in *Pascal*; it is really pleasant enuff.

"He, who cannot sleep, if he do's not eat his
 "Supper, ought he to fast? no by no means. Are
 "you not satisfy'd? not altogether, says I to
 "him, for I can fast very well, by making my
 "Collation in the morning, and eating my

“Supper at night. See what follows, sayd he
 “to me; they did not fail to consider every
 “thing. And what would they say, if one
 “could be content, without any Collation in the
 “morning, to Sup only in the evening. To this
 “it is answer’d, That notwithstanding a man is
 “not bound to fast; for no body is oblig’d to
 “change his ordinary course of eating. Oh what
 “excellent reason, sayd I, is this!

This is very ridiculous, answer’d the Abbot,
 and it must be ingenuously confest, that *Escobar*,
 who is not always so much *Escobar*, that is to
 say, in the Jansenists language, so loose, as
 these Gentlemen would have the world believe,
 it, must be acknowledg’d, sayd he, that he
 very well deserv’d to be raillyed for this fine
 decision. I my self condem him for it; I only
 add; that *Escobar* did not learn this answer, as
 far as I can understand, either from the four
 animals, *Suarez*, *Vasquez*, *Molina*, and *Valentia*,
 or the twenty four old men; and, also, that
 the good man was mistaken (as he often is)
 in quoting, for his opinion, *Filiucius*; who in
 his treatise of fasting says nothing like it. I
 am much pleas’d with you Mr. Abbot, sayd
Eudoxus, I perceive your downright honesty,
 and do very much commend you for it. As
 for my self, I cannot endure some of the Je-
 suits friends, who, right or wrong, will defend
 them in every thing. Can they think, that
 when men put on the habit of the Society,
 they with it also put on, as if it were another
 garment, the guist of infallibility?

Those

Those friends, answer'd the Abbot, wou'd perhaps shew the same moderation, that I do, if their enemies had as much justice and equity as you. Both run to extremities; but the last are more to be blam'd than the first. As for the other questions, about fasting, continued he, which *Pascal* calls diverting, if he wou'd but have taken the pains to read Saint *Thomas* in his fourth book of sentences, he might be sure to find many more such to divert himself with. Dist. 15.
q. 3. a. 4.

They are not very material, sayd *Cleander*; but how will you answer what he charges *Escobar* with; that to drink wine, out of meales, and even several times do's not break fast?

Reach me hither (I pray you) Saint *Thomas's* Sum, sayd the Abbot to *Eudoxus*; wherein he read to them the 147 question of the *secunda secunda* art. 6. where the Saint thus teaches; "the question, in the title is, whether the "command of fasting, obliges a man, to make "but one meal; *Utrum requiratur ad jejunium "quod homo semel tantum comedat.* He makes "this objection; those who fast are not forbid "to drink, several times, at several hours of "the day, they are not therefore forbid to "make more meals than one. *Non est prohibi- "tum quin pluries bibamus diversis horis diei: ergo "etiam non debet esse prohibitum jejunantibus quin "pluries comedant.* He answers, that the fasting, "enjoyn'd by the Church, is not broken, but "by those things, which at the institution of "the fast, she had an intention to prohibit; "but she had no intention to command absti-
"nence

“ nence from drink; and by consequence it is
 “ lawful, for those, who fast, to drink several
 “ times a day. *Et ideo licet pluries jejunantibus*
 “ *bibere* that if a man do's not drink mo-
 “ derately, he sins and loses the merit, or re-
 “ ward, of fasting, as he also do's, who makes
 “ but one meal, and eats not moderately. *Si*
 “ *quis autem immoderate potu utatur, potest peccare,*
 “ *& meritum jejuniij perdere; sicut etiam, si im-*
 “ *moderate cibum in unâ comestione assumat.* It
 is Saint Thomas, who thus speaks, continu'd
 the Abbot, not Escobar, and his opinion is
 follow'd by a multitude of Divines.

I have nothing more to say, answer'd Cleander; Escobar is very safe, his security is beyond exception. But, sayd Eudoxus, Saint Thomas, at least, declares, that if a man shou'd drink too often on a fasting day, he wou'd be guilty of the sin of intemperance.

Pascal, answer'd the Abbot, who omits none of the circumstances, that might make Escobar's decision appear loose to those who are ignorant of Saint Thomas's opinion, takes great care to add, whatever cou'd restrain it. Listen then to Escobar, who, in this matter, is but Saint Thomas's Echo, *This do's not hinder*, sayd he, *but that if you be not moderat in your drinking, you may commit a sin against temperance, altho you do not commit one against the precept of fasting. Immoderatio autem potest temperantiam violare sed non jejunium.*

Ho ho ! sayd Cleander, if Pascal had but translated these words also of the Casuist, they
 wou'd

wou'd have turn'd all the edge of his wit, or rather have left him no room for any; this wou'd have made all his jests and raillery about the hypocritas, appear very dull and insipid, and *Escobar*, whom he design'd to make ridiculous, cou'd not possibly have been laugh'd at. Here follows *Filiucius* upon the same subject, continued *Cleander*; which *Pascal* has made his Jesuit thus translate. "Is he, that has tir'd himself by some action, as by pursuing a wench, oblig'd to fast? no, by no means; but if he have tir'd himself, on purpose to be thereby dispens'd from fasting, shall he, notwithstanding, be bound to fast? altho' this shou'd have been his design, yet shall he not be oblig'd to fast. Ho! very well, cou'd you possibly have believ'd this, sayd he to me; truly Father, says I to him, I can hardly yet believe it. Ho what! is it not a sin for a man, not to fast when he is able? and is it lawful to seek occasion for sinning, or rather are we not oblig'd to avoid them? that wou'd be very convenient; not always, sayd he to me, but according.

Let us read *Filiucius* himself, sayd the Abbot; who having found the passage quoted, pray'd them to pass by *Pascal's* translation for a moment, and harken to his. "*Dices secundo, an qui malo fine laboraret, ut ad aliquem occidendum, vel ad insequendam amicam, vel quid simile, teneretur ad jejunium?* You will put me a second question, to wit, whether a man who had wearied himself, in prosecution of some ill design, as by endeavoring to kill his adversary, or by

"running

“running after his mistress, or by some such business, shou'd be oblig'd to fast.

“*Respondeo talem quidem peccaturum ex malo fine: at secutâ defatigatione excusaretur à jejuniò.* I

“answer, that this man's evil end wou'd make him

“guilty of sin, but yet, supposing him quite spent

“and tired, he cou'd not be oblig'd to fast. *Ita*

“*Medina, nisi fieret in fraudem secundum aliquos:*

“It is the opinion of Medina, if it be not done

“on purpose, to avoid fasting as some Divines do

“say. *Sed melius alij culpam quidem esse in ap-*

“*ponenda causa fractionis jejunij, at eâ positâ excu-*

“*sari à jejuniò.* *Ita Antoninus, Medina, Syl-*

“*vester.* But others say better, that the sin con-

“sists, in a man's putting himself into a condition not

“to be able to fast; but that being in such condition

“he is freed from the obligation of fasting. This is the

“opinion of Saint Antonin, Medina and Sylvester.

Ha what! sayd Eudoxus, if to the end I might not fast to morrow, I shou'd get my self blooded to day, both in my arms and in my feet, so much as to make me faint, wou'd Pascal, notwithstanding, condem me to fast to morrow? I believe if he were my physician, and did not hinder me, that he himself wou'd be guilty of sin. I conceive, as Filiucius sayd, that I my self shou'd commit a very grievous sin, by proposing to my self such an end, and that to have put my self into a disability of fasting, wou'd be a sin, twice as great, as the single sin of not fasting, cou'd, otherwise have been. But, certainly, if I were in this condition, I shou'd not believe my self oblig'd, even, to ask a dispensation from the Curat. I

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I leave you, sayd the Abbot, to compare my translation with *Pascals's*; and also the decision of *Filiucius*, Saint *Antonin* and others, with the notion, or idea he gives of it, in his captious way of proposing the matter. Thousands of people, who read these Letters, only, to divert themselves, and who depended upon what *Pascal* sayd, have treated this Divine, as ridiculous, impertinent, extravagant, and a corrupter of Morals: but you see with what justice. Besides this, *Filiucius* had made use of two examples to explain his meaning; one of which, had nothing in it offensive; *Pascal* passes this by, and lays hold of the other, which, put into French, seems not very modest or decent; whereas in *Latin*, and in these sort of books which are never read by the common people, nor by Lay-men, the thing, is, in it self, indifferent, and very far from being ill: there appears in all this proceeding a great deal of affected malice. But what say you to the consequences he draws from this decision, and the instances he puts to the good Father he is in discourse with? "Ho what! sayd he, is it not a sin "not to fast, when one is able? is it lawful "to seek occasions of sinning, or rather are "we not oblig'd to fly and avoid them?

I say, answer'd *Eudoxus*, that all this, is flat and dull enuff, and wicked in the highest degree. *Wendrok*, in defending *Pascal*, added *Cleander*, struggles hard, and in a very strange manner, to bring him off, from this unlucky business. Upon this occasion, one told me,
but

but t'other day, that in all places *Wendrok* rail'd against the Jesuits like a Carter, but in this, he curs'd and swore like a bog'd Carter; and yet, notwithstanding all, he still stuck fast where he was plung'd very deep in the mud. The comparison is not very neat or cleanly, but yet it very fully expresses the matter.

The farther we go, sayd *Endoxus*, the more I suspect, that the books of the Society's Casuists, are not so fertile of monstrous decisions, as the Jansenists, and those, who believe, or seem to believe them, do every where publish. For, if they are to be met in such crowds, why do they choose those the Jesuits are able to justify by the very bare exposition of the text; and that in such a manner, as common sense must bear them witness they have taken it right? why do they give them occasion to cry out against impostures? why do they furnish them with matter for the just complaints they have so often made, that they falsify the texts of their authors, to make themselves sport, and turn them into ridicule, to give their readers a malicious kind of pleasure? you shall see more examples, than one of this sort, answer'd the Abbot; but let us now look back, and read the remainder of this Dialogue.

See, sayd *Cleander*, here is the place we broke off at. "Is it lawful to seek for an occasion of sinning? not always, sayd he to me, but according; according to what sayd I. Ho ho! answer'd the Father, and if they shou'd suffer some inconvenience by shunning the occasi-

"ons,

“ons, are they, in your opinion, oblig’d to
 “avoid them? but this, at least, is not Father
 “Bauni’s opinion, as you may see page 1084.
 “Absolution ought not to be refus’d to those, who
 “continue in the near occasions of sinning; if they
 “are in such a condition, as not to be able to quit
 “them, without giving the world occasion to discourse,
 “or without receiving some great inconvenience by it
 “themselves. Father I am mightily pleas’d at this.

Eudoxus, who, at the same time, read in Father Bauni’s book, the place quoted by Pascal, sayd to Cleander, interrupting him, I do not find it so here; nor do’s Bauni make mention of the *near occasion* of sinning; and this is an essential falsification, the contrary is expressly set down. “For as much, sayd he, as that the cause, “which inclines and carry’s a man to evil, is not of “it self bad, nor contrary to any precept, or Ecclesiastic “decree, nor such, as, of its own nature, morally obliges, and necessitates those, who make use of it to “sin, and therefore cannot be reckon’d for such a near “and disposing occasion to ill, as the penitent ought, “of necessity, to avoid, that he may be capable of “receiving the Grace of Sacramental Absolution.

Let me see, I pray you, sayd Cleander, Bauni’s text; which after he had read, he cry’d out, this, I am sure, they may confidently call an other great imposture, and sufficiently circumstanced, if I may be allow’d so to speak; there is nothing wanting to make it so; it is very plain, and beyond all dispute.

The case here spoke of, continued Eudoxus, relates to the ordinary, and common occasions
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of Merchants, and dealers, whose way of traffic obliges them, To see, speak, and treat with women, wives and maidens, whose looks and conversation make them often fall into sin; and all this amounts, but to know, whether a Merchant, who cannot quit his trade, without the loss of his reputation, and the injury of his family, having otherwise a firm resolution to abstain from sin, *dummodo firmiter proponat non peccare*, may be allow'd to receive absolution; or, whether the Confessor be oblig'd to refuse it, or force him to renounce his trade. Is this to say, as *Pascal* writes it in *Italic* letters, impudently citing the page, that absolution ought not to be refus'd to those, who remain in the *near occasions of sinning*? where is the sincerity! I have always heard it sayd, that a near occasion of sinning, is, that which never almost is resisted, as *Bauni* has just now told us, and as it is call'd by all other Divines, an *occasion that morally obliges to sin*. But altho there are continual occasions, wherein we are engag'd by some kind of employments, which make us often fall, this do's not hinder, but that these occasions may be also often resisted; and there is a great deal of difference between the near occasions and continual occasions. What shall then become of this Merchant, if he do not turn Hermit or Carthusian? for in most secular employments, men are oblig'd to treat with married and unmarried women, to talk with them, and to see 'um. If the Curat of Saint *Eustache's*, shou'd observe this moral, there would

would be yearly, at Easter, abundance of shops to be let in Saint Denis's street in Paris.

I have several times discours'd, sayd the Abbot, with Doctors of *Sorbonne*, with Jesuits, and Religious of other Orders, concerning the near occasions of sinning: about the difficulty one ought to make, of absolving those, who are in them, either willingly, or by necessity; and do you know, that abating the extravagance, to which some Confessors do sometimes carry this point, I have seldom met any more severe in this matter than the Jesuits.

A Jesuit, answer'd *Cleander*, sayd to me once, upon an occasion like this we are discoursing of, that it was observable, that in the Cities, where they had Houses, some people, remarkable for their callings, and condition of life; and known to have need of the gentleness and indulgence, which the Fathers of the Society are sayd to shew to sinners, were, seldom or never, known to come to their Confessionals at Easter; an evident and manifest sign, that they elsewhere met with better bargains, with more accommodating, and complying Confessors, than the Jesuits.

I know some, added *Eudoxas*, who, believing that aspersions, happen'd to be shrewdly tripan'd; for the Knight of one of your acquaintance, once, upon a time, assur'd me, that *Pascal's* memoirs were neither true nor certain; for, having rely'd upon them, he went to the Jesuits once to Confession; but that, in all his life, he had never been handled so roughly; that his absolution was defer'd; and that

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upon

upon some conditions, which appear'd to him very hard to be observ'd. The Provincial Letters were, at that time, much in vogue; and the Knight was deceiv'd, and drawn in by them; who made no secret of this part of his case, which he was not asham'd to discover: and indeed the rage he was in, for being deluded, made him every where cry out, that *Pascal* was in that, at least, a meer impostor.

The Confessors, answer'd the Abbot, are much to be pitied; they are accus'd without being able to defend themselves; and if some persons, of the same character with your Knight, who do not think their reputation less'n'd, by telling they were refus'd absolution, did not, from time to time, vindicat the Jesuits in this point, abundance of people, wou'd judge of them, just as an *Oratorian* whom I know by sight and name, for a long time did. He was in the country with a Jesuit of my acquaintance, who is not now of the Society. This Jesuit had refus'd to give absolution to a man in those parts, who either brag'd, or complain'd of it; the *Oratorian*, much surpriz'd at the story, ask'd the Jesuit very seriously, whether any of their Order ever refus'd absolution: it is commonly sayd among us that none of you ever do. After such little digressions as these, which were now and then made to refresh themselves, and prevent being tir'd, they went on with reading the Provincial Letters.

"This, Father, do's very much rejoyce me;
"there remains now no more, than to say a

"man

“man may, on set purpose, seek occasions of
 “sinning; since it is lawful not to shun, or fly
 “from them. Even that, also, is sometimes
 “permitted, added he; the famous Casuist,
 “Basil Pontius, has sayd it; Father Bauni quotes
 “him, and approves his opinion, as you may
 “see in his treatise of repentance q. 4. p. 94.
 “A man may seek an occasion directly and for it self,
 “(primò & per se) when either his own, or his
 “neighbour's spiritual, or temporal, good leads him
 “to it. Truly, says I to him, I seem to be
 “in a dream, when I find Religious men speak
 “after this manner.

This turn of Pascal, sayd Eudoxus, that he
 seems to dream, when he hears Religious talk
 at this rate, do's suppose, without doubt, some
 very wicked thing in this decision. Not at all,
 answer'd the Abbot, it was only to make a
 more near transition to the matter of probabi-
 lity. See what a pleasant thing follows.

“Ha what! Father, tell me in conscience,
 “whether you your self be of that opinion?
 “no truly, sayd the Father: do you then
 “speak, continued I, against your conscience?
 “not at all, sayd he; I did not in this speak
 “according to my own conscience, but accor-
 “ding to Pontius, and Father Bauni's conscience,
 “and you may safely follow them, for they
 “are two able men. What, Father, because
 “they have put these three lines in their books,
 “is it lawful to seek for occasions of sinning?
 “I did not believe, we were to take your Ca-
 “suists for a rule, but only the Scripture and
 P 2 “the

"the tradition of the Church. O good God!
 "cry'd out the Father, you put me in mind of
 "the Jansenists. Cannot Father *Bauni* and *Basil*
 "*Pontius* make an opinion probable? I am not
 "satisfi'd, says I to him, with a probable opi-
 "nion: I desire to have a sure one. I see,
 "plainly, sayd the good Father to me, that
 "you are ignorant of the doctrin of probabi-
 "lity; if you understood it, you wou'd speak,
 "after an other manner. Truly I must needs
 "instruct you in this point; you shall not
 "lose your labor by coming hither: for, with-
 "out a right notion of this matter, you will
 "not be able to understand any thing: it is
 "the foundation, and the A. B. C. of all our
 "Morals. I was ravish'd to see him fall upon
 "what I wish'd for. Is not this pleasantly
 "brought in, continu'd the Abbot? and ought
 "he not to have been guilty of a small calum-
 "ny, rather than to have lost so pretty a turn?

I speak thus, not that I disagree as to the
 truth of this quotation, on that I lay no stress:
 Father *Pintereau* and Father *Causin* in their an-
 swers to *la Theologie Morale* denied, that these
 words were in *Bauni*, having taken one of this
 Divine's assertions for an other; where *Basil*
Pontius is also quoted upon such a kind of sub-
 ject, which they believ'd was that, which the
 author of that book had attack'd. This mistake
 made *Pascal* triumph in his fifteenth letter. But
 he was well employ'd in the mean time; a
 little clearing and disentangling of things will
 here discover a most evident calumny; which
 consists,

consists, in that the words of *Pontius*, cited by *Baumi*, do contain, with reference to the place from whence they are drawn, and according to the sense there given them, no other, than a wise and most reasonable doctrine; and yet *Pascal* makes his readers take up such a notion of the words; as that they might from them infer, a most detestable doctrine. Let us look upon them, as they stand in *Pontius* himself. Altho he be an *Augustin*, your Jansenist friend will in all appearance, upon *Pascal's* quotation, and joyning him with *Baumi*, take him for a Jesuit: for I see, he has plac'd him on the same shelf, and in the midst of the Casuists and Divines of the Society.

The words are to be found in the sixth chapter of his addition to his book *de Matrimonio*, where this Divine proposes, whether a Catholic may in conscience marry a heretic, who may be thereby endanger'd to be perverted, when there is otherwise a great deal of reason to make the match. *An cum periculo perversionis*, sayd he, in the title of the chapter, *possit ex aliqua magna causa contrahi matrimonium cum heretico*. The interest of the state and Religion is concern'd in the marriage; there are hopes by it to draw the Catholics out of oppression; whom a heretic Prince, or Prince's Ministers treat with the utmost severity. These are the examples propos'd by *Basilius Bomius* at the beginning of the chapter; and he answers, that, notwithstanding, the Catholics danger of being perverted, the Marriage may be made

with a good conscience; provided the Catholic, confiding in the mercy of God, do's sincerely resolve, to continue faithful. *Parum tamen contrahat cum firmo proposito non labendi, fidensque de divina misericordia & gratia fore ut eripiarur ab eo periculo sine crimine.*

He supports his assertion by the example of Judith; who expos'd her self to so dangerous occasions; to save her Town of Bethulia. And also by the Marriage of Hesther, with Haffuerus. By the authority of Saint Ambrose, Saint Austin, Saint Thomas, Cardinal Cajetan, and a number of other Doctors; Whence he thus concludes, concerning these and all other such Cases, it is manifest, that all persons do sin in exposing themselves to danger, without some very pressing cause or necessity obliging them to it; but it may be done without sin, when such an occasion requires it: and it is not necessary that this cause should be the spiritual good of the Soul, but it is sufficient that it be a considerable, temporal, advantage, as is seen in Hesther's Marriage, and the conduct of Judith.

I desire to know, continued the Abbot, whether there be any thing extravagant in this doctrine; and what ground Pastal had to say, I fancy my self in a dream when I hear Religious men talk at this rate? and whether, on the contrary, he himself did not really dream, or strive, when he pretended to find in it such great occasions of scandal?

I'll make a farther remark, sayd Eudoxus, who at that time was reading the passage in Banni; and it is a second circumstance of the calumny.

calumny. Bauni do's not use Pontius's words, to prove a man may expose himself to the danger of sinning, for a temporal advantage; but, only, by an argument call'd *à fortiori*, to confirm his assertion, That one may sometimes absolve a person that is in a dangerous occasion, without obliging him to quit it, when there is just cause not to do it, provided the person be truly penitent for his sins past, and have a firm resolution not to sin any more. This occasion, sayd he, a little lower, ceasing to be a near one, in the notion of Divines, from the moment it ceases to be voluntary: and it ceases to be voluntary, from the time, that with a steadfast resolution not to offend God, there is a necessity to continue in it. I am perfectly of your opinion, added Cleander, to the Abbot, that Pascal had very great need of this transition, to set off, and make some sport with his subject. But let us go on, and make an end.

The remaining part of the Letter we are examining, sayd the Abbot, relates to the doctrine of probability: but it is to no purpose to enter again into this matter, after all that has been already sayd upon it; especially since my design is, not to take notice of all Pascals impostures. Nor will I say any thing of an opinion, he, in the same Letter, attributes to Reginaldus, and Father Cellot; That in Moral questions the new Casuists are preferable to the Antient Fathers, altho these come nearer to the Apostle's times. This point has been already debated, and I am of opinion, that we ought not to imitate Pascal in his repetitions.

Here they stop'd; *Cleander* and *Eudoxus* assuring the Abbot, that they were extreemly scandaliz'd at *Pascal's* falsifications; and at the unfaithfulness of the memorials he made use of in writing the Provincial Letters: then they agreed at what hour to meet again the next day, to examine the following Letters.

The sixth Discourse.

SOME unexpected business hinder'd the Abbot from meeting at the time appointed. *Eudoxus* and *Cleander*, nevertheless, resolv'd to go on with their design; not in judging of what he had sayd about Morals, wherein they believ'd they shou'd need the Abbot's assistance; but of an other part of *Perrault's* commendation, of the Provincial Letters in his *Parallele*; which gave them an occasion to criticize upon the stile, and purity of the language, &c. They began with the first Letter; and plainly shew'd, by several instances from the beginning of this Discourse to page 217, that this author was too lavish in his Panegyric, and very much out, when he affirm'd, that in these Letters there was nothing but purity in the language, greatness in the thoughts, and wit in the raileries, and that the art of Dialogue was here to be found whole and intire.

Page 217.

They were beginning to fall upon the second Letter, just as the Abbot alighted. While we were waiting for you, sayd *Eudoxus* to him, we were endeavoring to take up a better opinion
of

of *Pascal*, and an other impression than what you yesterday left of him in our minds. We also endeavor'd to lessen the horror of that frightful idea you gave us of him when you so often convinc'd him of calumny and imposture.

How cou'd you go about it, sayd the Abbot, for the proofs I brought, are perfectly unanswerable; and a man that has but eyes and understands how to read, cannot but be satisfi'd of their force and their solidity.

We made no reflexion upon that, answer'd *Eudoxus*, we only examin'd, what right he had to the qualities of an extraordinary wit and an excellent writer.

Those are the qualities for which he is to be most valued, replied the Abbot, and not at all incompatible with what I sayd of him yesterday. *Pascal* is a man of wit, a good writer, and very perfect in the art of slandering; he is pleasant, bold, expert, and happy in the trade of lying. The bare reading of the Provincial Letters discovers the two first qualities, and the observations we have made upon them do palpably demonstrate all the rest.

You are then, it seems, convinc'd, sayd *Cleander*, that these Letters, whatever otherwise they may be, are at least a Master-piece of wit, and in this kind one of the wonders of the world.

Ho, not so, answer'd the Abbot, to say that it is a pleasant piece, and wherein there is a great deal of wit, and art, is, what one in justice is bound to say; but to say, that it is a Master-piece, and without faults, a great many faults,

faults, a man must be very much *Pascal's* friend, or persuaded by his friends to a mighty degree of obstinacy. I am of opinion, that he writes easily, naturally, and with life, but he neither writes purely, nor exactly, and *Mr. Pertault*, in saying there was nothing but purity in the language, did not speak like an able, or at least like a sincere Acadamist.

How you decide the matter! *Mr. Abbot*, sayd *Cleander* laughing, we durst hardly say so much, after we had ran over, and seriously examin'd the first Letter.

If I shou'd shew you, answer'd the *Abbot*, the copy I have at home, you cou'd hardly find one page without some strokes of a pencil, pointing out faults against the purity of the language, or the elegance of stile, or the art of Dialogue, and very often, also, marking out, a poor, mean thought, or a pitiful conceit.

Are there as many, proportionably, in that, as in this? sayd *Eudoxus*, shewing him the first Letter, which they had newly examin'd, and scored in abundance of places. Very near as many, answer'd the *Abbot*. *Cleander*, turning over the book interrupted them, and sayd, I have here met a passage, which really shews, that *Pascal* understood the rules of Dialogue: but it also shews, that he did not always think of them time enuff. It is, at the beginning of the sixth Letter. "I will do it, sayd he, (meaning the repetition of the discourse he had with his Jesuit) and I will do it more exactly, than I did the other. For I have
" now

“now brought my table-book, to mark down
“the quotations of the passages, and I am very
“sorry I did not bring it with me the first time.
“This precaution, and this little word, thrown
in by the by is, indeed, necessary, to make the
matter have some seeming truth in it; a main
essential thing in all Dialogues. For it is not
probable, he cou’d remember, exactly, all the
places the Jesuit had cited out of the Casuists,
and yet he had reason to mark them, since he
was to give an account of the Conversation to
his friend in the Country.

“But that which is very pleasant, and made
me say, that *Pascal* do’s not remember the rules
of Dialogue time enough, is, that in the prece-
dent Letter, where he relates a former dis-
course, he had had with the Jesuit, where at
he sayd he had no *table-book*, there are yet full
as many passages quoted, the books, the chap-
ters, and the very pages therein are set down,
at least, as exactly as in this. Not to speak
of that list of near fifty Casuists, Divines and
Canonists, whose names seem to him so diffi-
cult to be pronounc’d, that he ask’d his Jesuit,
whether all of them were Christians, and yet,
notwithstanding, he made a shift, even with-
out a *table-book*, to remember them all, very
exactly.

“This is a very good remark, answer’d En-
dorus; but in all appearance, this precaution,
being taken up after the thing was over, must
have been the effect of the observation of some
one of *Pascal*’s friends, who discover’d this fault

of

of his a little too late. This, perhaps, was the reason, added the Abbot, laughing, that we have found in his fourth and fifth Letters so many false citations, and so many mangled passages out of *Laiman*, *Bauni*, and *Filiucius*. If *Pascal* had had his table-book then, he might have been more exact; but it is manifest, that in writing his discourse, he spoke by heart. As to the rest, added the Abbot, if the then critics of *Port-Royal* did oblige *Pascal* to make mention here of his table-book, that his following Letters might appear more true, and free from the faults he committed in the two former, they afterwards alter'd their opinions; for in the latter editions, they have omitted this precaution of the table-book, which by correcting the fault you speak of had made it more appear.

It is true, answer'd *Eudoxus*, reading this place in the edition in *turkes*, which he had in his hands, that this article is left out; but now we are upon this subject, continu'd he, I find that *Pascal* had not yet sufficiently reflected upon the rules of Dialogue, when he suppos'd his Letters were become public, and, in his eighth, writ to his friend in the Country, that every one in *Paris* was guessing at the author; some saying it was a Doctor of *Sorbonne*, others, fathering them upon four or five persons, who, like himself, were neither Priests, nor Churchmen. This alone, takes away all appearance of truth, from the conversations related in the eighth, ninth, and tenth Letters. For to be

able to continue these discourses with his Casuist, it must be suppos'd, the Jesuits were ignorant, that the former Letters ran about, and were spread all over *Paris*; and did not know, that all the world were delighted with them; that their mysteries were discover'd, and all honest men enrag'd at them. Now, most certainly, this ignorance of the Jesuits in a point that touch'd them so near, seems too gross to carry any likelihood of truth with it. *Pascal* was very much out here, and did not sufficiently reflect upon the matter.

There is yet, answer'd the Abbot, an other more considerable fault, which runs thro' all *Pascals* Dialogues, and it is, that he overstrains and carries too far the character of his chief Actor. The first and great Personage of his Dialogues, is a Jesuit, a well meaning good man and without trics; who franckly tells all he desires to fish out of him. This is not much amiss, and *Pascal* has, by this contrivance, a fair game on't. But of this plain simple Jesuit, which at first he made him seem to be, he has insensibly made a natural, a sot, and silly to the highest degree. He laughs at him, and mock's him to his face; he openly rallies him without his perceiving it; he foolishly runs into snares, that any one might plainly see were laid to catch him; he makes him speak the greatest impertinences imaginable; and all this he makes him do, in the name, or as the mouth, of the whole Society; and takes all he says for granted; believes his quotations true;

true; the sense he gives them; the principles he lay's down; and the application he makes of the whole.

I know there were Critics at *Port-Royal*, who also found this fault with the main point of his Comedies. But it was answer'd, that, notwithstanding, it was to be pass'd over, and the same method to be still continu'd; that the Provincial Letters with this fault, had all the effect that cou'd be expected from them; that the nicety was unseasonable; that very few wou'd take notice of it; and that when once the greatest part of the world was got into a vein of laughing at any thing, or upon any subject, the most exact and observing must, whether they will or no, carry on the same humor.

However it was resolv'd, that before the following editions, there shou'd be an advertisement to the reader, wherein this Person's character was to be justifi'd, as much as possible; in the same manner, almost, as *Molire* had apologiz'd for his Man-hater in his preface to his Comedy, *le Misanthrope*. "This Father, "we are told in the advice to the Reader, is a "good man, as there are many such among "them, who wou'd have hated the wickedness "and malice of his Society had he been acquainted with it he that heard him was "neither willing to shock him, nor to consent "to his doctrine; but receiv'd it with a double "meaning raillery; which might have sufficiently discover'd his sense to any person less "prejudic'd than this Casuist.

Double

Double meaning raillery, answer'd *Eudoxus* ! witness what *Pascal* says in his fifth Letter, after the passage out of *Bauni*, concerning the seeking for occasions. Truly, says I to him, I seem to be in a dream, when I find Religious men speak in this manner. What double meaning raillery is this? of all *Pascal's* railleries, continu'd he, there are not three, that can be call'd by that name. The writer of this advice to the Reader calls this Jesuit a good man, he ought, without doubt if he wou'd have spoken properly to have call'd him an Idiot. Such a man cou'd never have had in the Society, the quality *Pascal* gives him of a Casuist. And what this man says is so false, that among the Jesuits there are many like him, that there cou'd hardly be found two like him, among all the most solitary hermits in the world; and I do verily believe, that one must go to Bedlam, to meet with such an other example of madness and folly.

Pardon me, sayd *Eudoxus*, one needs go but to the *Jacobins* : the *Dominican* in the second Letter, is, altogether, as silly as the Jesuit is in the others. These two personages are both cast in the same mould : but I think it wou'd have done well to have made some little difference between their characters. I no sooner meet the Jesuit in the fourth Letter, than the *Jacobin* comes into my mind. But to speak freely, *Pascal's* having made the one to resemble the other so exactly, is no sign that his wit or fancy was over fertil or luxuriant.

As I was lately reading with one of my friends, added the Abbot, *Horace de Arte Poëtica*, we paus'd a while, to consider one of the most essential precepts, given by this Poët of the art of Dialogue, extremely ill observ'd in *Pascal's Letters*, and compriz'd in these three verses.

*Si quid inexpertum scenæ committis, & audes
Personam formare novam; servetur ad inum
Qualis ab incepto processerit, & sibi constet.*

And 'tis what is daily sayd, that when a man has once given a character to a new personage, brought upon the Stage, he must take care to carry it on exactly, every where to the end of the Scene or Play.

The figure, or character he has given the Jesuits in his Letters, is most certainly new, and altogether peculiar to *Pascal*. In the beginning of the Scene, he gives them, successfully enuff, the character of wit, policy, and address, of men who understand how to insinuat themselves into the Courts of Princes, to get into the confidence of great men, to win the people's affections, and make themselves Masters of their Consciences, by certain arts that for a long time had been kept secret. But after he had improv'd as much as he was able, to their disadvantage, the mystery of probability, the better to back and support this notion and idea, and to confirm his readers in it, he proceeds to the direction of intention; which in his way of explaining is very ridiculous; he makes the Jesuits speak of it, in so pitiful a manner,

manner, say so many poor things, and advance so many extravagances, and so gross and undisguis'd impieties, that the first thought of a reader, who reflected never so little, must be to ask where is all this pretended policy and cunning of the Jesuits?

What? did the Jesuits design to establish themselves in all parts of the earth, to make themselves Masters of the people's consciences, to govern in the Courts of Princes, to get into the confidence of Prelats, and Magistrates, and all this by authorizing robberies, violences, murders, duels, simonie and the disobedience of inferiors towards their superiors? in one word, by all those things, which give men the most horrid apprehensions, and most capable of disturbing the peace of the public, of giving Princes the greatest disquiets, and of scandalising the most honest men. And which is more by printing and publishing all this, in *France, Spain, Germany, Italy, and Rome*, as *Pascal* is pleas'd to suppose.

But do you remember, added the Abbot, what he says in his thirteenth and fourteenth Letters? for it is in those, chiefly, he takes upon him to preach against and run down the Jesuits. There after he had cul'd some lines out of the texts of several of their authors, which in his seventh Letter he had attack'd, and which the Jesuits had defended, and which in these two Letters he had again stich'd and put together, with all possible art and malice, he addresses himself to the Jesuits, as if they

Q

had

had been *The Devil's agents*, devoted to execute this infernal spirit's orders, and declar'd enemies to the Gospel. They are, no longer, those refin'd, skilful, politicians, those Master-hypocrites, perfect in the art of disguising their thoughts; they are men, whose own words and assertions, without any artifice, or wresting, make them, openly, accomplices with all the most revengeful and malicious Duellists and Murderers. What think you? do these things hang well together? and is this his character all of a piece?

This observation, answer'd *Eudoxus*, seems very well carry'd on; and opens a way for judging of some particular passages in the Provincial Letters, after a very different manner from the judgment the world has hitherto pass'd upon them. But, if you please, we will pursue our design, and begin with the examination of the sixth Letter. That was my own intention, sayd the Abbot, and therefore I am well pleas'd with your proposition.

The following part of the sixth Discourse.

Cleander and *Eudoxus*, to make the more hast, had, the day before, agreed to compare *Pascal's* quotations, one by one, with the Jesuits books, and divided between themselves the several passages. They had also mark'd in the authors, the matters in question, so that now they had no more left to do, but to open their books, and communicate their respective reflexions to each other.

The

The first article in this Letter, is part of my province, sayd *Eudoxus*. *Pascal* accuses there the Jesuits, of interpreting the Popes Bulls in favor of sinners, and in particular, that, by which *Gregory* the XIV. has declar'd murderers unworthy of the sanctuary and protection of Churches, and that they ought to be drawn out thence by force, and put into the hands of justice.

Before we go any farther, sayd the Abbot, interrupting him, what think you of these Gentlemen? do they not do very handsomly to reproch the Jesuits with the interpretation of a Bull? they who had the impudence and the rashness, to laugh at, and make sport with, the decree, or Constitution, made by one Pope in matters of faith, confirm'd by an other Pope, and receiv'd by all Christians, they, whose chief Hero fully inform'd of the censures of two Popes, and of the most eminent Prelars of the Kingdom, against the *Mons Testament*, had yet the confidence to say and Print, that they cou'd not meddle with, or fall upon this book *without being guilty of folly and impertinence?* Let them freely submit to, and sign the decrees of *Innocent* the X, and *Alexander* the VII, against *Jansenius's* propositions, without an interpretation or a comment, and then the Jesuits will defend themselves about the interpretation, whereof they are accus'd: till then, the testimony of the Jansenists in this point ought not to be receiv'd against Jesuits.

This wou'd be a puzzling instance, sayd

Q 2

Cleander,

Nov. det.
to 2.
pa. 563.

Cleander, to a *Jansenist*: but you know very well, that I am not one: but after all, the *Jansenist* may be in the wrong, and yet the *Jesuit* not in the right. Let us see then, sayd he to *Eudoxus*, whether you can bring off *Escobar* from this business an other way.

I have taken some pains about the matter, answer'd *Eudoxus*, and I have also known by experience, on this occasion, how useful Mr. *Abbot's* help has prov'd to us in our examination of the *Provincial Letters*. I read at first the beginning of the sixth Letter, to which I pray you listen.

"Sir I told you at the end of my last letter, that this good Father, the *Jesuit*, had promis'd to make me understand, in what manner the *Casuits* do reconcile the contradictions that are between their opinions and the Popes decisions, the Councils and the Scripture. At my second visit, he did, really, instruct me in the matter; and I'll repeat to you what pass'd between us. One of the ways we have, sayd the good Father, to reconcile these contradictions, is, by the interpretations of some terms. For example, Pope *Gregory* the XIV has declar'd, that Assassins or Murderers ought not to enjoy the benefit of Sanctuary in Churches, but to be drawn out thence. However our four and twenty old men say, *ir. 6. ex. 4. n. 27. That those who kill men, treacherously, ought not to incur the penalties of this Bull.* This seems to you, to be contrary to the Popes decree; but they

“they reconcile it by interpreting the word
 “Assassin as they do by these words. Are not
 “Murderers unworthy to enjoy the privilege of
 “Churches? Yes by the Bull of Gregory XIV,
 “but we understand by the word ASSASSIN,
 “those who have taken money to kill a man treach-
 “erously. Whence it comes to pass, that those, who
 “Murder, without receiving any reward, but only to
 “oblige their friends, are not call’d ASSASSINS.

The first thing I did, sayd Eudoxus, was to
 consult the text of Escobar, to see whether it
 were faithfully reported; and I was surpriz’d,
 to find the assertion, directly contrary to what
 was cited. He that treacherously kills a man, whe-
 ther by sword or poison, is exclud’d from the pri-
 vilege of the Church’s Sanctuary. *Proditorie ali-
 quem occidens, seu ferro, seu veneno, caret Ec-
 clesia immunitate? Caret.* Now you see another
 plain falsification to encrease Pascal’s list. But,
 reading on Escobar’s text, I found the bad opi-
 nion I conceiv’d of the accuser, did not pre-
 vent, my taking up, from the following words,
 a disadvantageous suspicion of the person ac-
 cus’d. A man is sayd to kill treacherously, when
 he kills one who did no way distrust him; for
 which reason he who kills his enemy is not call’d a
 traitor, altho he had layn in wait for him, and
 struck, stab’d, or shot him behind. This, at first,
 seem’d to me, to have all the air and contri-
 vance of a distinction and the subtilty of a Ca-
 suist. I read on: Have the Assassins or Murder-
 ers a right to the privilege of the Church’s Sanctu-
 ary? No, according to the decree of Gregory XIV.

I understand by the word *ASSASSIN*, a man who has taken mony, on set purpose, to ly in wait, surprize and kill an other; who is not upon his guard, nor distrustful of him. For which reason, he, who, without receiving any mony, kills a man only to pleasure his friend, is not call'd an *ASSASSIN*. As to the rest, all those, who are accessory to the murder, who favor, or give the Murderer succor, or carry him off, are depriv'd of the right of Sanctuary.

The first part of this decision, continu'd *Eudoxus*, appears as loose, as the last seems severe; and I cou'd not tell what to think on'r. As to the matter of Bulls, I have heard it sayd, in general, that they are written in a particular stile and language, which a man must understand well to judge of them aright. This made me suspend my judgment upon this point; but I went immediatly to consult a neighbor and a friend of mine, who is a very able Canonist, and ask'd him his thoughts upon this decision of *Escobar*. After he had read it quite thro', he told me, no body cou'd speak more justly, or more learnedly than this Jesuit had done. In all appearance, sayd he, you are most scandalis'd at the definitions he gives of the words *Assassin* and *Treachery*, and the restrictions he adds to them: but your surpris will be over, as soon as you have heard the history of this Bull.

You must know then, continu'd he, that the immunities and privileges of Churches, have always been, and, still, are, to this day,
look'd

look'd upon in *Italy*, as a point of the last importance; which the Popes, on all occasions, have extreamly recommended to the Ecclesiastical Magistrates, and which they have commanded them zealously to maintain, against the attempts of secular Magistrates; but yet, notwithstanding, abuses having crept in, and this privilege, having been the occasion of many horrid crimes, some Popes, particularly, *Sixtus IV* and *Pius V*, thought fit to restrain them, and by their Bulls made on this account permitted, that certain criminals might be drawn out of the Churches, and deliver'd into the hands of secular justice, without regard to any immunities whatsoever.

Afterwards the secular Magistrates extended these Bulls farther than the Popes intended; which oblig'd *Gregory XIV* to make a new decree, for the more exact regulation of these things, and for the taking away all difficulties, contentions, and disputes; wherein he declares, more particularly, the criminals and the crimes, that were to be excepted from privilege, together with the manner of proceeding on such occasions. Those, who kill men treacherously, and Assassins and Murderers are in the number of criminals excepted; *Qui proditoriè proximum suum occiderint, aut Assassinij*. But in the end, he forbids, that any other crimes, or criminals, except such as are expressly mention'd in the Bull, shou'd be excluded from the sanctuary and privilege of Churches.

You must likewise know, sayd he to me,

that, in the explication of these kind of Bulls, men take care to speak with all the exactness and rigor of law, and as much, as possible, not to give the terms any other signification than what is receiv'd and authoris'd by the stile and usage of lawyers. Now in the law, *proditorie occidere*, and the word *Affassinus* have no larger a signification than that, which *Escobar* here gives them; whereupon my Canonist made me read *Calvin's Lexicon juris*, *Bartholus*, *Ambrosius*, *Farinacius*, *Covarruvios*, and *Clement the VIII.* He moreover add'd, that if *Escobar* had spoken otherwise, he had not follow'd the doctrine of lawyers, nor the terms, nor intention of the Bull, and, contrary to the prohibition, would have restrain'd, more than he ought to have done, a privilege, of which the holy See is very jealous. But perceiving I had brought with me *Escobar* and the Provincial Letters, he guess'd the occasion of my doubt, and sayd to me, that *Pascal* was in the wrong for attacking *Escobar* upon this point; and if he had not a little falsifi'd the matter, he had in it betray'd, at least, his own ignorance. I answer'd, that I would freely pardon his ignorance, provided it were invincible, but for that I would not swear.

Your Canonist, sayd the Abbot, might have also added, that *Escobar*, in speaking so, had but follow'd the usage of all *Italy*, and *Spain*; where this Bull is observ'd after the manner wherein he has explain'd it. You may see then, concluded *Eudoxus*, that here is another point dispatch'd to the honor of *Pascal*, who
had

had waded too far into a matter he did not understand.

That's true, answer'd the Abbot, but whatever opinion you take up of the imprudence, or ignorance of *Pascal*, do not forget his falsification of this passage: which you your self acknowledg'd in the beginning, where you saw he made *Escobar* speak the direct contrary to what he had sayd. We shall be sure to keep an account of all, reply'd *Eudoxus*.

Do you imagin, sayd *Cleander* to *Eudoxus*, that it has cost me less pains, than it has done you, to inform my self fully in the charge *Pascal* has drawn up against the Jesuit *Vasquez*, touching Alms? you must know then, that I read over last night at full length, this Divines treatise upon this subject; which took up my time till midnight; but I do not at all repent the pains I have taken. For it is hard to meet, upon that subject, a work more instructive and more judicious, or where more is decided by the authority of Scripture, Fathers and Canons. And as for the fourth chapter, which *Pascal* has found fault with, I wish that all our benefic'd Priests and Abbots, who thunder against, and run down in words, the loose Morals, wou'd read it with attention, and practise it exactly: I shou'd then willingly refer my self to their opinion.

What you say do's very much surprize me, answer'd *Eudoxus*: for mind I pray what our *Pascal* says upon the point. "In the same manner, it is sayd in the Gospel, Give Alms
"of

"of your *superfluities*, or of what you have to
 "spare, and yet, notwithstanding, many Casu-
 "ists have found out ways, to free the richest
 "persons from the obligation of giving alms;
 "this also may seem, to you, contrary to the
 "rules of the Gospel; but it is easily recon-
 "cild, by interpreting the word *superfluities*, or
 "to spare, in such a way, as that no body
 "shall have more than enuff; and this the
 "learned *Vasquez* has done in his treatise of
 "alms ch. 4. *What worldly men hoard up to raise*
 "and better their own and their relations state and
 "condition, is not call'd *superfluous*: for which
 "reason you will hardly find, that any of these
 "people who live in the world, have more than
 "enuff, no not even Kings themselves.

What, sayd *Endoxus*, has *Pascal* falsifi'd this
 passage also of *Vasquez*? yes, answer'd *Cleander*,
 this passage also is falsifi'd; and it is only by
 vertue of this falsification, that *Pascal* concludes
 from *Vasquez's* doctrine, That the *Casuits* have
 found out means to free the richest people from the
 obligation of giving alms. This conclusion do's
 not at all follow from this Divine's doctrine;
 but it is directly contrary to it; the reading
 the whole passage, of which *Pascal* has quoted
 but one part, will, without more ado, con-
 vince you of this truth.

The falsification consists in this, that *Pascal*
 has made *Vasquez* say, in general, That one cou'd
 hardly ever find any thing *superfluous* among secular
 or worldly people. Whereas *Vasquez* had only
 sayd, That it cou'd hardly be found, that worldly
 men

men had any thing superfluous, with reference to their state and condition. Take notice of these last words to their state, which Pascal has re-trench'd and left out, you'll quickly see of what importance they are. Vasquez, in the place quoted, comparing the obligation of benefic'd persons, with that of pure laics in giving of alms, speaks after this manner.

“First I hold, that Ecclesiastics, as well as
 “Seculars, are oblig'd to succor and relieve
 “their neighbors, in their *extream* necessities;
 “as for other great necessities *graves necessitates*,
 “the Ecclesiastics are oblig'd to ease and com-
 “fort them, at least, out of what is superfluous
 “to their condition, and sometimes out of what
 “is necessary to it, as I have already sayd even
 “of Secular men's obligation; *Graves etiam ne-*
 “*cessitates status proximorum & alias graves tenen-*
 “*tur Ecclesiastici sublevare, ut minimum de super-*
 “*fluo status & aliquando de necessario, ut supra de*
 “*secularibus diximus.* But, continu'd Vasquez,
 “there is a very great and notable difference,
 “between Seculars and Ecclesiastics. For first;
 “laics are not oblig'd to go and seek out the
 “poor, but only to give alms to those they
 “meet; whereas Ecclesiastics, and chiefly Bi-
 “shops, as Corduba has very well observ'd, are
 “oblig'd to go and seek them; because they
 “are the Fathers of the poor, and the care of
 “them do's particularly belong to them. Se-
 “condly, because lay-men have a right, to
 “treasure up part of their patrimony, to alter
 “or better their own, or their relations cir-
 “cumstances

" circumstances and condition. And what is thus
 " reserv'd is not call'd superfluous in this re-
 " spect. *Et tunc illud non dicitur superfluum.*
 " Whence it comes to pass, that upon this ac-
 " count, it can hardly be sayd, that lay-men,
 " even Kings, have any thing superfluous to
 " their condition. *Unde vix in secularibus invenies*
 " *etiam in Regibus, superfluum statui.* But nei-
 " ther Bishops, nor other Ecclesiastics, can
 " make use of their benefices, to enlarge their
 " fortune, or raise themselves, or their relati-
 " ons to any higher degree. Because, that out
 " of the revenues of the Church they have
 " only a right to an honest livelihood for them-
 " selves; and therefore hardly any, that have
 " good livings, but either have, or may have,
 " what is superfluous to their state and condi-
 " tion, if they live modestly and manage well.

Pray read no more, sayd *Eudoxus*, interrup-
 ting him, the falsification you have taken no-
 rice of, is, not only, an undoubted matter of
 fact, but it is yet also true, that this passage
 alone, is sufficient to shew, the vanity and
 the falshood of all *Pascal's* reasonings. For
 not only Ecclesiastics, and benefic'd persons,
 are here treated, as severely, as they could
 wish, and much more roughly than many de-
 sire, but we likewise see, he obliges the Secu-
 lars also, to relieve their neighbors, as well in
 their extream, as in their other, great and con-
 siderable, necessities, *At the expense of the super-*
fluous part of their fortune, and even of that which
is necessary to their state and condition of life. Ut
minimum

minimum de superfluo statûs & aliquando de necessario ut supra de secularibus diximus. How then is it possible, to draw such a conclusion as *Pascal* makes from such a doctrine; "That as to a man's salvation it would be as safe, according to *Vasquez*, not to give alms, provided he have but ambition enuff to hinder him from having any thing superfluous, as it is safe, according to the Gospel, to have no ambition, that you may have wherewithal to give alms and relieve the poor?" This conclusion appears now to me as false, as the expression always seem'd obscure, ill turn'd and very much wrested.

I do not intend, answer'd *Cleander*, laughing, thus to lose the pains I have taken in studying the doctrine of *Vasquez*. Have the patience, I pray you, to hear the substance of it. I'll give it you in few words, and it will not be unuseful for the defence of this Doctor. After he had demonstrated out of the Scripture, and the Fathers, the indispensable obligation the rich lay under, of giving alms, he demands upon what this obligation is founded, and sets down the several opinions of Divines, upon the matter; and, among the rest, that of *Cardinal Cajetan*, who says there are two grounds, or reasons of this obligation. The first, the extrem necessity of our neighbor, and the second, the superfluous wealth of the rich; inso-much that by the right of nature, the goods of fortune, being equal and common to all, and their appropriation to particulars being made but by the law of nations, he that has any

Cap. 1.
dub. 3.
n. 19.

any superfluity, or remainder, above his use and condition, is not the real Master of that remainder, but only a Steward, to distribute it among those who are in need.

Vasquez do's not account these two reasons of *Cajetan* to be solid enuff, for the establishment of the precept of giving alms; and, particularly, refutes that which he takes, from the obligation of giving what is superfluous, by
 Num. 24. vertue of the law of nations. For sayd he, to speak precisely, if to have any remainder of wealth, over and above a man's use, founded a reason and obligation, a man wou'd be oblig'd to part with it, altho there shou'd be no poor to receive it, which wou'd be absurd. Whence he concludes, that the obligation of giving alms, is not founded, properly, upon men's superfluities, but upon charity; which requires me not to refuse my superfluities to my neighbor, when under a necessity. And I am of opinion, that this is both very well and truly sayd.

Num. 27. Besides, *Vasquez* makes several kind of superfluities; the word superfluity, having in it many relations, or meanings; that which is superfluous to one thing, may be necessary to another, and what, in the language of Divines, is superfluous to nature, is not always superfluous, in reference to decency, and the the conservation of that state of life, wherein God's Providence has plac'd us.

Afterwards, upon occasion of the several degrees of obligation all men are under of giving alms

alms out of their superfluities, *Vasquez* explains two ways, wherein wealth may be sayd to be superfluous to the possessor's state and condition. He says it may be sayd to be superfluous, either with reference to the state he is actually in, or with reference to a higher state, supposing he may have a right to raise himself to that state, and may do it without sin. *Quem ego licitè possum acquirere*: So that the same thing may be sayd to be, and not to be superfluous in different respects. It will be superfluous to my present state, if it be not absolutely necessary to the conservation of my being. But it will not be superfluous, with reference to the state I may lawfully acquire, if I cannot otherwise raise my self to it. Whereupon *Vasquez* puts a case of conscience, to wit, whether a man, seeing his neighbor ready to fall from the condition he is in, be oblig'd, under pain of mortal sin, to maintain him in it, by giving him the mony, wherewith he design'd to raise himself to a station he might lawfully aspire to. And he answers that he is not oblig'd.

That is to say, answer'd *Eudoxus*, that if I am a Counsellor of Parliament, and see one of my Brethren forc'd to quit his place, because he is unable to support the expense, I am not oblig'd to give him the mony, with which I intended to purchase a Master of Requests office, to which I might lawfully aspire.

This instance, sayd *Cleander*, explains the thing perfectly well. And thence *Vasquez* concludes, that, even, according to the principles of

of *Cajetan*, who agrees with him in the notion and distinction of superfluity, a man will be under none, or small obligation, to relieve his neighbor, supposing this obligation be taken precisely to depend upon what he has of superfluity. This is only a consequence *ad hominem*, to speak in the language of the Schools, to demonstrate to *Cajetan*, that the reason, upon which he founds the obligation of giving alms, is not a true reason. His argument is indeed both strong and good, sayd *Eudoxus*.

- Listen now, answer'd *Cleander*, to the conclusions he draws from the principle he lays down, that the obligation of giving alms is precisely founded upon charity, whereby you will see, whether this Divine be over loose in the matter. This, in his opinion, is the order charity prescribes for succoring our neighbor.
- Cap. i. "You are not oblig'd to relieve your Brother,
num. 25. "at an equal loss to your self with what he
26. "would have undergone for want of your suc-
"cor. But you are oblig'd to assist him, at
"the expence of any less part of your own for-
"tune, than that which he is like to lose. So
"that, says he, I am not bound to save my
"neighbors life, at the loss of my own; but
"I am bound to save it, at the expence of all
"my fortune; and in all other cases the rule
"is proportionably the same. Otherwise, *How*
"can the love of God dwell in me, if in such
"a necessity, I esteem my honor and my
"wealth more, than the life of my neighbor?
"This being suppos'd, continues he, if my
"neighbor

“neighbor be in danger of death (which is
 “commonly call'd extream necessity) or if he
 “be just falling into a great fit of sickness, I
 “am oblig'd to relieve him, with all that is
 “superfluous to the entertainment and subsist-
 “ance of my self, and those who depend upon
 “me If I do not expose all my fortune,
 “to prevent my neighbors falling into this
 “evil, I do not keep and follow the rules and
 “order of charity.

“Secondly, to observe this very order, if my
 “neighbor runs the risk of losing his reputati-
 “on, this being a thing more pretious than
 “gold, or any office, or employment to be
 “bought with gold, I am oblig'd to secure him
 “from this evil, tho I shou'd thereby fall from
 “my present state and condition, and which is
 “yet more, altho my family shou'd suffer by
 “it, yet ought I, in this case also, to succor
 “him with all my possessions, beyond what is
 “just necessary to support nature.

“Thirdly, if this man, by some loss, be
 “upon the point of having his fortune ruin'd,
 “I am oblig'd to help him with all that is
 “superfluous to my own state, but not with
 “what is necessary to maintain it. Because I
 “am not oblig'd to succor him at an equal
 “dammage to what I wou'd hinder.

It is not enuff, reply'd *Eudoxus* to say, that
 this Moral is not loose or large; I am very
 certain abundance of people wou'd find it ex-
 tremely strict and severe, and, in some parti-
 culars, perhaps, a little too extravagant.

R

I et

Let us return to the falsification, continu'd *Cleander*, and oblige *Pascal* to argue in form by the principle he borrows, or pretends to borrow from *Vasquez*. This then is *Pascal's* argument.

A man is not oblig'd to give alms but out of his superfluities. But the rich will hardly be found according to *Vasquez*, to have any superfluities, therefore the rich, according to *Vasquez*, are never, almost, oblig'd to give alms.

Letter 12. I'll allow the first proposition to be true, but the second is not *Vasquez's*. He did not say the rich had seldom any superfluities, and therefore the consequence *Pascal* draws from thence, do's no way concern this Jesuit. This is clear, sayd *Eudoxus*. Let us now therefore, answer'd *Cleander*, make a formal argument of *Vasquez's* proposition, as it really stands without any falsification, and see whether *Pascal* will find his account in it.

One may say, according to *Vasquez*, that the rich have rarely any thing superfluous to their state and condition, but the rich are not oblig'd to give alms, but out of what is superfluous, therefore, according to *Vasquez*, the rich are oblig'd rarely to give alms.

The Jesuits will here say, that the first proposition in the sense *Vasquez* gives it, and according to the distinction he has made, of the state a man is in, and the state he may lawfully aspire to, is very understandable, reasonable, and true. The second proposition, is false, both according to him and all Divines. For
he,

he, as they do, holds that the rich are oblig'd. on many occasions, to give alms, even out of what is necessary to their state. This will appear by looking on his doctrin, concerning the order, prescrib'd by charity, and it is what we have just now read.

It is then true, sayd *Cleander*, making an end, that *Pascal* has falsifi'd this passage; and that the inferences he makes contrary to the precept of alms, cannot, without falsifying it, be drawn from *Vasquez's* principle. Whence it seems clear to me, that *Vasquez* is very innocent; and that in this point, *Pascal* has not acted like an honest man, or a good Christian.

The Abbot, with a great deal of pleasure, saw *Cleander* and *Eudoxus* do justice to this excellent Divine, and attentivly heard them without any interruption. But, yet, he cou'd not forbear making them observe an important thing, for the full justification of *Vasquez*. Take notice, sayd he to them, that he there discourses only of a sum of mony, wherewith lay-men have a right to better their estates and condition, and which is not superfluous to them on that account, as it wou'd be to benefic'd persons; and that all this has no relation to ordinary alms, which is a quite different case. I will make this matter plain to you.

Thô a King shou'd give a hundred Louis d'or's a week to the poor, and a man of thirty thousand livers rent spend ten Pistols a month in alms, they wou'd not, regularly speaking, strip themselves of any thing necessary to pre-

serve, or raise their state and condition. Such a sum cou'd not hinder the Prince from fortifying his frontier towns, nor from increasing his fleet, nor the man of thirty thousand livres rent from purchasing a new office, for some one of his family; and by consequence those small sums are to be allow'd superfluous to their state and grandeur; so that this was not the matter in debate. Now thô *Vasquez* shou'd, with *Cajetan*, found the obligation of alms, upon superfluity, and not upon charity, and the needs of our neighbor; althô he shou'd not oblige the rich, as, in some circumstances, he do's, to succor his neighbor, even out of what is necessary for maintaining his estate and condition; yet wou'd the obligation of ordinary alms always remain. For from the moment there is a question of one, two, three, or four Louis's, for the preventing, for example, an Artisan from being broken, and his family undon, for want of being able to purchase the necessary tools, or instruments for carrying on his trade, the rich man, of whom I speak, and to whom this man makes his address, and who sees that his refusal will ruin the poor unhappy wretch, and his family, is oblig'd in conscience, according to *Vasquez*, to give him so much alms, as will not deprive himself of what is necessary for the conservation, or even for the lawful advancement of his state and condition.

And yet, notwithstanding this, what an idea has *Pascal* given of *Vasquez*? it is, sayd he, in
express

express words, that His Doctrin frees the most rich from giving any alms. Can there be any thing more disingenuous or unjust?

In truth, answer'd *Cleander*, *Pascal* do's not reason right, nor understand these matters. But that, which has most mov'd my indignation, is the obstinacy and cruelty wherewith he still continues, and pursues his invectives against this Divine. After his sixth Letter came forth, the Jesuits made an apology for *Vasquez*; which consisted in a short, plain, exposition, of his doctrin, in substance the same almost you have now heard me make. *Pascal* replies, and handles again the same thing in his twelfth and thirteenth Letters.

Rather say, sayd *Eudoxus*, interrupting him, that he confounds it anew on set purpose. If I were to make a rejoinder to his reply, and to a thousand such others, I wou'd do no more than so often set down the very same explanation you have now given us of *Vasquez's* doctrin. This beat's down all before it, and has made all *Pascal* has since sayd, as well as all he had sayd before, fall to the ground. If a man be never so little skil'd in Divinity, he will quickly perceiv, that *Pascal* understands it not; or rather that he will not understand what he pretends to refute. But before we go farther, have so much goodness, I pray you, as to satisfy me about two new proofs, he has added in his twelfth and thirteenth Letters, to shew that the practice of the precept of alms, according to the principles of *Vasquez*, will be re-

duc'd to nothing. First, says he, because he do's not oblige men to give alms in ordinary necessities: Secondly, because he adds after some decisions, *Hoc intelligo & cetera omnia, quando scio nullum opem laturum.* Can it then, says Pascal, often happen, that in Paris, where there are so many charitable persons, it may be known, that none will be found to succor the poor man who begs it?

Cap. 1.
num. 9.

The first reproch, answer'd Cleander, is founded upon a scurvy equivocation; and the second, is meer sophistry and perfect wrangling. To find out the equivocation, you are to know, that *Vasquez*, with all other Divines, makes a distinction of three degrees of necessity, wherein our neighbor may be, in reference to alms; one is call'd *extream*, the other *great or pressing*, and the third *common necessity*. *Necessitas extrema, gravis seu urgens, & communis.* *Extream* necessity, is, not only, when a man is at the point of dying if he gets no alms, but, also, when there is ground to believe, that, probably, he will be reduc'd to this condition. The necessity call'd, *great or pressing*, is, when there is reason to apprehend your neighbor is in danger, not of death, but of some considerable dammage, or inconvenience. *Common* necessity is, that, which commonly an infinity of poor people suffer, whose poverty puts them into no danger of death, or sickness; such, for example are those, who are ordinarily call'd the poor; who have no way to live but by begging, whereby, however, they make a shift to support themselves.

Vasquez

Vasquez teaches, that the precept do's not only oblige, under pain of mortal sin in extream necessitys, as some famous Divines seem'd to have taught, but that it obliges also, in *great* or *pressing* necessities. As to *common* necessities, he follows the opinion of the greatest part of Divines, who hold, that, in this respect, the precept do's not oblige under pain of mortal sin. And that a rich man, going along the street, do's not sin mortally in not giving alms to all the beggers who ask him.

Instead of the term *common necessities*, *Pascal* was pleas'd to substitute that of *ordinary necessities*; that he might be able to say, *Vasquez* had made void the precept of alms, by asserting, that it do's not oblige in *ordinary necessities*. But who is it, that cannot see the malice of such a translation? for altho the necessity, which is call'd common, in the notion of Divines, be ordinary, 'tis not the only necessity that is so. *Great* and *pressing* necessities, in which, according to *Vasquez*, the precept do's oblige, are neither extraordinary, nor very rare. Last year, by the scarcity of corn, they were become very ordinary; they are this year also more ordinary, and the best years that can happen, they are never very rare.

There is always an infinit number of modest, bashful, poor, who have much more need of assistance than common beggers; and for this reason it is, that the Divines say, a rich man is not oblig'd, strictly speaking, under pain of mortal sin, to give alms to all the beggers he

meets. Nevertheless many, and *Vasquez* among others, oblige, under pain of mortal sin, to succor those other poor in their pressing necessities; and thus you see it is to abuse unjustly and maliciously the term *necessitates communes*, to draw that consequence from it, which *Pascal* has done against *Vasquez*.

When a man is once engag'd, sayd *Eudoxus*, interrupting him, he catches at any thing, and strives, as well as he can, to bring himself off. What wou'd the world have sayd, if *Pascal* had made no reply to the Jesuits, who brag'd and publish'd, that they had convinc'd him of a notorious imposture?

The other article, continu'd *Cleander*, is a pittiful, wrangling, business. *Vasquez*, by these words, *Hoc intelligo, quando scio nullum opem latueram*, meant no more but this, that if I know another will relieve this poor man, I am not then, under pain of mortal sin, oblig'd to succor him. *Pascal* thereupon argues strongly; can it often happen, sayd he, that in *Paris*, where there are so many charitable persons, one shou'd know, that no body wou'd be found to assist the poor we meet? as if *Vasquez* had intended, that before a rich man was oblig'd to give alms, all the Ladies, who make it their business to beg for the poor, and all the other charitable persons of *Madrid* and *Toledo*, shou'd come and make before him a declaration in form of law, that no body wou'd receive the unfortunat wretch, who now beg'd his commiseration.

But

But cou'd *Pascal* have once thought to have made so frivolous an objection as that, if he had read *Vasquez's* treatise with any attention? For, in the second chapter, he teaches in express terms, That if many rich persons know a poor mans necessities, and do not succor him, they are all guilty of sin; because every particular person is oblig'd to relieve him; and that it is ridiculous to think the contrary. It is not therefore *Vasquez's* opinion, that a rich man may take his measures from others, unless he know that those others will effectually succor the poor man.

This is not worth the refutation, answer'd the Abbot; you only find by it, that the Jesuits are not to be pardon'd in any thing. Their Adversaries lay hold of every thing; and let no advantage against them slip; there is not a word, nor an expression, never so little doubtful, upon which they do not think they have a right to cavil and wrangle with them. Such a thing as this cannot but be a great prejudice to their cause, but to their adversaries wou'd be but a very slight one.

And to confirm what we say, continu'd the Abbot, a moment after *Pascal* had given the Jesuit, who speaks in his Provincial Letters, this character of extravagant impertinence, do but observe, how he makes him conclude this article in his sixth Letter. "I see plainly, "Father, that this follows from *Vasquez's* doctrine. But what can be answer'd if it shou'd "be objected, that to secure Salvation, it wou'd "be as safe, according to *Vasquez*, to have am-
"bition

"bition enuff to hinder superfluities, as it is
 "safe, according to the Gospel, to have no
 "ambition, that men might give alms out of
 "their superfluities? it must be answer'd, sayd
 "he to me, that both these ways are safe, ac-
 "cording to the Gospel. The one, according
 "to the Gospel, in the most literal and most
 "easy sense; the other, according to the same
 "Gospel interpreted by *Vasquez*; by which
 "you may perceive the great usefulness of in-
 "terpretations.

There is in this answer, sayd the Abbot, a
 most ridiculous extravagance; and which ex-
 ceeds all the bounds of probability. But you
 know the division that is commonly made on
 such like occasions. One part of the folly is
 attributed to the character of the person repre-
 sented; and the excess, or other part belongs,
 by consent of all the world, to the author.
 That which follows, answer'd *Eudoxus*, relates
 to the Popes Bulls, I desir'd my Canonist, be-
 fore I went from him, to instruct me in the
 matter, for I found his learning might save me
 a great deal of trouble. The matter I had a
 mind to hear debated was, to know upon what
 occasions a Religious man might put off the
 habit of his Order, without hazard of excom-
 munication. Of this affair *Pascals* Jesuit speaks
 after this manner.

"The Popes have excommunicated Religi-
 "ous who put off their habits, and yet not-
 "withstanding our four and twenty old men
 "discourse thus upon that subject, tr. 6. ex. 7.
 "nu. 103.

“nu. 103. Upon what occasions may a Religious
 “man put off his habit, without incurring the
 “penalties of excommunication? he gives an ac-
 “count of many; and among others of this.
 “If he puts it off upon a shameful account, as to
 “go a robbing, or to go incognito into places of
 “debauch, with an intention to put it on again
 “presently after. So that it is visible the Bulls
 “did not mean such cases as these. I cou’d
 “hardly believe this was possible; and there-
 “fore prayd the Father to shew it me in the
 “original. And I saw that the chapter where
 “these words are, is intitled, *The practice accor-*
 “*ding to the Jesuits School*, wherein I read
 “these words: *Si habitum dimittat ut furetur*
 “*occultè, vel fornicetur.*

And what advantage, sayd Cleander, interrup-
 ting him, cou’d the Jesuits have by treating
 such kind of rogues so civilly? I do not see
 their end in this kind of policy: and thò their
 Divines shou’d be as extravagant as *Pascal* wou’d
 have us believe, this exception is, of it self,
 too odd to let us think they cou’d have made
 it, if it had not been grounded upon some
 maxim of the law, or upon some clause of
 the Bull.

You judge very prudently, sayd Eudoxus, and
 my Canonist told me upon this occasion, that
Pascal, having so fully studied his *Escobar*, must
 be suppos’d to have found little or nothing in
 him worthy of reprehension; since he stood
 so much upon such frivolous things. He there-
 fore explain’d the business to me in this man-
 ner;

In sexto
titulo.
Ne Cleri-
ci vel
Monachi

ner; there are, says he, many decrees against Religious, who put off their habits, and go out of their Cloisters, without their superiors leave.

The chapter here treated of, is, *Ut periculosa*, which forbids the Religious, upon pain of excommunication, rashly to quit their habits, to go to the public Schooles, or to any other places. The Canonist put the question, whether, by vertue of this chapter, every Religious man, from the moment he puts off his habit, incurs the penalty of excommunication. And they do all answer, that this decree, together with all others, ought to be understood, according to the intencion of the Legislator; that is to say of the Pope, who made it: whose intencion appears by these words, *Ut periculosa Religiosis evagandi materia subtrahatur*: To the end, an occasion may be taken from the Religious, of running out of their Cloisters, to the danger of their salvation. So that a Religious man, who disguises himself, and in that dress go's out of his Monastery, to walk and divert himself, is excommunicated; therefore by a much stronger reason, a Religious man, who lays aside his habit, to rob, or go incognito to bawdy houses, wou'd, without doubt, incur the penalty of excommunication.

This being suppos'd, the Canonist sets down several occasions, wherein a Religious man may put off his habit; without hazard of excommunication; some, wherein he may do it without sin, and others, without mortal sin. Pursuant to this, Escobar puts this question, *Quandonam*

Quandonam Religiosus potest sine excommunicatione habitum exuere? and he answers, that in the following cases he do's not incur excommunication.

1. If he lays aside his habit but for his ease, either to leap, or run, in some place, where no body can see him, *Si in loco secreto exuat ut commodius ei sit, vel ut melius currat vel saltet.*
2. If being oppress'd by his immediat superior, he disguise himself, that he may go with more security to find out his mediat superior. *Vel si injustè gravatus à Prelato immediato fugiat ad Superiorem sine habitu, ne agnitus comprehendatur.*
3. Or, if he shou'd quit his habit upon some criminal design, for example, privately to rob, or, to do something worse, with an intention quickly to put it on agen. *Vel si ad turpem causam, v. g. ut fureretur occultè vel fornicetur, illum dimittat mox reassumpturus.* And these are his last words, which *Pascal* was pleas'd to translate, or rather to paraphrase thus, if he lays it aside for a shameful cause, as to go a robbing, or incognito to a bawdy house, whereas it is very plain, that this was not at all *Escobar's* sense or meaning.

For his design by these exceptions, and these examples, is to instruct a Confessor, in the exact and precise sense of the decree; which only prohibits Religious men from changing their habits to go out of the Monastery and to live or act abroad with greater liberty, and by which the Pope had no thoughts of excommunicating one, who shou'd only lay aside his habit

habit in the Convent, altho he shou'd do it even with an ill and dishonest intention.

I reply'd to my Canonist, that what he sayd, appear'd probable enuff, but that *Pascals* paraphrase also did not seem very unreasonable, nor ill grounded. For tho a Religious man might put off his habit, to rob within the Monastery, because, for example, he was to pass thro some hole, where his habit might be troublesome, it is very rare that he cou'd commit the other sin within the Convent; and therefore *Pascal* seem'd to have a right to interpret, as he has done, *Escobar's* text and meaning.

Escobar, sayd he to me, writ in a time, when that was not so rare as you imagin, even here in *France*, in several Monasteries in the country, which have been since reform'd; but, sayd he farther, *Escobar's* book, cited by *Pascal*, is but an abridgment by way of question and answer. I'll shew you this Divine's sense clear'd and explain'd at large upon this point of the Canon law. It is in the third volume of his Moral Divinity. There, after he had set down the text of the chapter *ut periculosa*, *Escobar* says positively, that from the moment a Religious man quits his habit, to conceal what he is, he incurs the censure of excommunication, and that, tho he shou'd not take another, altho he shou'd keep a part, quitting, for example, the upper garment, without putting off the under, yet, notwithstanding, if this be sufficient to hinder him from being known for Religious, he is to be judg'd, according to the intention

of

of the law, to have quitted his habit. See now, sayd he, whether this agrees with *Pascal's* comment; who supposes the Religious man, a robber on the high-way, or in the streets of *Paris*, and running *incognito* to places of looseness and debauchery.

I cannot, sayd *Cleander*, but still admire *Pascal's* ingenuous zeal for the reformation of the Jesuits doctrine: for, I pray, take notice, that he has chosen some cases and passages very difficult and obscure on one side, and which, on the other, being dismember'd, and cut off from the text, and propos'd without certain circumstances, which very few are able to supply, have something extremely shocking, by which the common people are wholly drawn aside from, and made ready, or prepar'd to rise up, as it were, in rebellion against the Society.

You will see in what follows, sayd *Eudoxus*, a Master-piece of this artifice and cunning. It is without doubt a fine stroke, and must needs have given the Jesuits a great deal of trouble, under pretense of not transgressing the bounds of good manners, he only points at a passage, in *Escobar*, relating to a Bull of *Pius V* against Priests, given to a crime not to be nam'd, but upon great necessity. I saw indeed, sayd *Pascal*, this passage of *Escobar* the evening before; but I durst not tell it you, for it is a friteful thing.

The thing is indeed friteful, sayd my Canonist, if *Pascal* intends the matter; for the crime there spoken of is one of the most infamous, that can be committed; the particulars also to which

which *Escobar* descends, can hardly be read without some trouble. But cou'd it be imputed as a fault in a Doctor of Physic, to hold himself oblig'd to expound to his Scholars, certain diseases, about which they might some time or other be consulted? Prudence obliges men to write cases of conscience in a language, not commonly understood by all the world; and in books which are usually read by none but Priests, employ'd in hearing Confessions; who daily meet with worse things than those mention'd by this author. I fancy if one be guilty in this point, is it not *Pascal*, who sets people a laughing to see what is not at all proper for them?

But if by saying, that it is a *friteful thing*, he means *Escobar's* decision, he shews himself in this also to be either very ignorant, or very malicious. For all that *Escobar* says upon this subject, may be reduc'd to this; he gives an account of the opinion of another *Spanish* Divine; which is, that this Bull, probably speaking, is absolute, and therefore do's not oblige in conscience to the penalties it imposes. This is a meer matter of fact, which *Escobar* do's not warrant, and, besides, it is no more surprising, that this Bull shou'd not be receiv'd, or put in practice in *Spain*, than that it shou'd not be receiv'd, or put in practice in *France*, where, in reality, it never was.

In the second place, supposing it had been receiv'd, *Escobar* explains in what circumstances it do's, or do's not oblige; and that by an undoubted

undoubted principle of law, according to which, the Popes very well know their decrees are always to be understood; to wit, that when they speak of any sin, it is of a sin perfect, or complete in it's kind, except the contrary be plainly express'd.

In the third place, *Escobar* adds, that before the Judges declaratory sentence, the criminals, in the court of conscience, do not incur the penalties of this Bull. And these penalties are, to be depriv'd of their charges, or benefices, if they have any, and to be degraded, and deliver'd up to the secular arm, to be punish'd, after the manner of lay-men, that is to say to be burnt alive. What *Escobar* there says, is undeniable, according to the principle he lays down, that no penal law obliges the guilty to accuse themselves; and certainly it wou'd be a great, and very particular extravagance to say, that a wretch, actually guilty of this sin, was oblig'd, in conscience, to go and discover himself, to the end he might be degraded and burnt alive.

This is ridiculous, answer'd *Cleander*, but, I pray you, continu'd he, addressing himself to the Abbot, satisfy me in one thing relating to *Escobar*. In this abridgment of *Morals*, often quoted by *Pascal*, *Escobar* gives some chapters the title of *Praxis circa ex Societatis Jesu Doctoribus*, and after the decisions, he puts into the margin the names of several Jesuit-authors. Are all these decisions, really, taken out of the authors by him cited? This is a

matter of consequence, for a man cannot but conclude from *Pascal*, that the whole Society speaks by the mouth of *Escobar*.

It wou'd be great injustice to all the Jesuits, reply'd the Abbot, if men shou'd make them answerable, for all that *Escobar* says in those chapters. 1. Because, that in many Moral points, it is the same thing with the Jesuits, as with other Divines, Canonists, and Lawyers; one is of one opinion, another of another, and therefore it wou'd be nonsense, to take *Escobar's* doctrine, for the doctrine of the Society; because he might, for example, have follow'd *Vasquez*, so long as *Suarez* and *Laiman* are of a contrary opinion.

2. *Escobar* commonly thinks it sufficient, to make one of these authors support his opinion, if he finds in him, the principle, from whence he imagins he has rightly infer'd his own conclusion: wherein he is not more infallible, than other Divines, who are often mistaken in their arguments; and indeed *Escobar*, himself, do's sometimes mistake in that matter. 3. *Escobar* is a great Collector, not very exact, and for want of care, often quotes falsely; witness the case of fasting, which we have already mention'd; wherein he cites *Filiucius*, and yet *Filiucius* says not one word, of what he makes him speak in his margin.

As far as I see, sayd *Endoxus*, interrupting him, if the Jesuits had the same notion, you have, of *Escobar*, they wou'd not treat him with much ceremony, but freely give him up to

Pascals

Pascals censure and discretion. Nor do I know, whether even *Bauni* would find any great kindness from you, at least, if I may judge by what I have formerly heard you speak of him, and that without any reference to the Provincial Letters.

I do not say so, answer'd the Abbot, they are both men of merit, and commonly argue, and decide very well; I would only say, that in some places, they either mistook, or express'd themselves scurvily; and that there was reason to reprehend them, provided they would treat them in their reprehensions, after the same manner, they would treat Divines of any other Body or Order; and that the Jesuits, far from adopting the doctrine of these authors, did reject it, conformably to the opinions of their best Divines; among whom these are far from being reckoned of the first form.

But if it be unjust, to judge by these passages, of the remaining part of these two Divines doctrine, 'tis yet much more unjust, to do it for the whole Society. As there is no author in whom faults may not be found, so are there none, who may not be defam'd by publishing nothing but their faults; exaggerating and exposing them on all occasions, without ever mentioning what is good in their books. And as there is no body, whose members are all sound and without fault; so can there be none, which, under the like pretence, may not be decry'd and run down. But, sayd the Abbot, we are insensibly gone astray from our subject.

That which follows for the most part in this sixth Letter, continu'd *Eudoxus*, has no relation to the Jesuits, but to *Diana* and *Caramuel*, who are not of their number. Let us pass by all that, and come to *Valentia*, upon his case of simony. You, sayd he to *Cleander*, are to make a report of this matter.

Let us first do *Pascal* justice, sayd the Abbot interrupting them, and let us own, that so very nice and tender a point, cou'd not be touch'd more finely than it has been by him; and upon which it was, for him, of the last consequence, to turn his readers fancy. It is about half a page before the case of *Valentia*, in your edition in *quarto*. I pray listen to it attentively.

"Alas! sayd the Father to me; our principal end was no other, but to have establish'd
 "the Gospel maxims in their utmost severity;
 "and it is sufficiently seen by our conduct,
 "and the regulation of our manners, that if
 "we suffer any relaxation, or looseness in others
 "'tis more by condescendance, than design, to
 "which we are forc'd; the men of this age
 "being so much corrupted, that finding our
 "selves unable to make them come to us, we
 "are necessitated to go to them.

Pascal very well foresaw, that the behavior of the Jesuits, their ordinary way of living, and the regulation of their manners, which he was willing to acknowledge, wou'd be a strong prejudice, and a general objection against the belief of those horrid things, wherewith he intended to reproch them. He was sensible, that
 they

they always had been, and still were, in so good a reputation in the world, that, till the appearance of the Provincial Letters, all which had been sayd against them, and so often publish'd by their enemies in *France, Germany, Spain, and Rome*, had made no great impression upon the men of sense, even upon those, who were the least favorable to the Society.

And, really, when the Provincial Letters come first out, an infinity of honest people sayd, that the regularity of these Fathers lives, was, alone, a sufficient apology for them. That there was not the least liklyhood, or probability, that a Society, where vice is less suffer'd than in any other, and where, the manners and behavior of the particular members are commonly very regular, and exact, shou'd think of introducing, or countenancing corruption in the world; that it is natural enuff, to be easy and indulgent to ones self, however severe a man is to others; that, on the contrary, 'tis not man's temper to be rigid and severe to himself, and soft and gentle to his neighbor. And in the last place, that it was hard to conceive, that so many persons, who, on one hand, did all a Christian, or a Religious man can do to be sav'd, shou'd, on the other, in favor of sinners, do that, which must necessarily dam both themselves and those sinners.

Pascal foresaw this difficulty, and was aware of it, even when he writ his fourth Letter; wherein he first began to attack the Jesuits, and did then, all he cou'd to lessen the force

of this prejudice and argument against the belief of all he shou'd say upon that subject. He do's here agen the same thing, as you see, and that in a very cunning, skilful, manner; and it was, without doubt, such places as these, which made your Acadamist *Perault* say, that all the art of Dialogue was to be found in the *Provincial Letters*.

Eudoxus and *Cleander* agreed to the truth of this remark; and that there was in this transition of *Pascal*, as much wit as malice, and so without more ado fell upon the passage in *Valentia*.

I know not, sayd *Cleander*, the reason, why in the severall editions I have seen of the *Provincial Letters*, the citations upon this article are so faulty, and the pages in *Valentia* quoted with so little exactness. I thought it was done, by mistake, which oblig'd me to read, at length, this Divines treatise of simony; but before I tell you my opinion on't, let us read *Pascal*.

"We have therefore maxims for all sorts of
 "persons; for the benefic'd, for Priests, for
 "Religious, and for Gentlemen Let us
 "begin, sayd the Father, with the benefic'd
 "persons. You know the trade, that is, at
 "this day, driven about benefices; wherein if
 "we shou'd govern our selves, by what Saint
 "*Thomas*, and old authors have written upon
 "this subject, abundance of Church-men
 "wou'd be found guilty of simony: for which
 "reason it was very necessary, that our Fathers
 "shou'd, by their prudence, moderat things,
 "as

"as these words of *Valentia*, who is one of
 "Escobars four animals, will give you to under-
 "stand. It is the conclusion of a long dis-
 "course, wherein he sets down many expedi-
 "ents, of which, in my opinion, that in the
 "1042 page of the third tome is the best. If
 "a temporal good be given for a spiritual, that is
 "to say, money for a benefice, and the money be
 "given as the price of the benefice, 'tis plain down-
 "right simony: but if it be given only as a mo-
 "tive, to induce a man to resigne, NON TAN-
 "QUAM PRETIUM BENEFICII SED
 "TANQUAM MOTIVUM AD RESIG-
 "NANDUM, it is not simony; altho the person,
 "who resignes, considers and expects the money, as
 "his principal end. Tanner, who is also of our
 "Society, says the same thing in his third tome
 "page 1519, &c

I expected, sayd Cleander, to have found, at
 large, this conclusion in *Valentia*, and did be-
 lieve that the seven or eight lines of this Let-
 ter, written in *Italick* characters, were but the
 translation of that conclusion. But I was in-
 deed busied to good purpose, to seek for't in
 the chapter or third point quoted by *Pascal*.
 This paraphrase, is so different from the text,
 that, in good earnest, I cou'd not guess to
 what part of the treatise it had relation. For
Pascal, having in his *French* mix'd these latin
 words, *Non tanquam pretium beneficii, sed tan-*
quam motivum ad resignandum, I did believe he
 design'd it for a mark, to find out, the more
 easily, the place he meant to speak of. But

I sought for it in vain, not being able any where to find it. *Pascal* also says, that what we have now read, is the conclusion of a long discourse, where *Valentia* gives many expedients to *Jhem*, how men may trade in benefices without sin; but neither cou'd I by this mark find out the place he intended to speak of.

At last, by guessing, I thought I had found, what he wou'd be at: it is in the beginning of the third chapter, where *Valentia* puts this question; *Whether simony be committed, as often as a spiritual good is given for a temporal, or a temporal for a spiritual?* and he answers, that to do so, is not always simony. It must be sayd, continu'd he, and it is the common opinion of *Divines*, that there are, generally speaking, two ways, by which it may happen, that men may give a spiritual good for a temporal without simony. The first is, when the temporal good, is, only, a motive of giving, or of doing some spiritual good. The second is, when the temporal, is, but a grateful acknowlegment, or compensation of the spiritual good, or the spiritual of the temporal. He proves his assertion, by the notion of simony; which he takes, as all *Divines* do, for a kind of contract, after which he adds these words, *The conclusion therefore of my argument is establish'd, or confirm'd.*

I had, I say, reason to believe, pursu'd *Cleander*, in reading his sixth Letter, that this was the place *Pascal* principally pointed at.
1. Because, that *Valentia* there, really, answer'd the question propounded; that it is not always
simony

simony to give a temporal good for a spiritual, nor a spiritual for a temporal. 2. Because, he speaks of the distinction, of two ways of giving a temporal for a spiritual good, as a payment, or as a motive. 2. Because he adds these words, *See my conclusion establish'd or confirm'd*, to which *Pascal* seems to allude; and lastly because I can find no place, to which the quotation can better agree.

But since the answers, and the replications, and the defense of those replications, and the false citations, have infinitely puzzled and confounded this whole affair, I think the best and shortest course, is, to do as we have done in the case of *Vasquez*, and other matters; that is to say, to examin in it self the doctrin of *Valentia*; and to judge by the exposition thus to be made, whether this ought to be objected as a crime to the Jesuits. Now what I have to say upon this point is this.

First, seeing, that in this dispute, Saint *Thomas* was quoted on both sides, I thought it fit to read him upon this subject; of which he treats in 100 q. 2. 2. after I had read and compar'd it with *Valentia*, I perceiv'd, that this Divines treatise was nothing else, almost, but a comment upon Saint *Thomas's* question; and that this holy man's doctrin, was the foundation of what was held by this Divine.

In the second place, I observ'd, that in the places where the matter is handled, *Valentia*, without determing any way the question about benefices, treats the thing in general, to wit, whether

whether a spiritual good may be sometime given for a temporal, without simony, or a temporal for a spiritual; and that all he there do's, and the only thing, almost, is, to explain, with Saint *Thomas*, how notwithstanding the precepts which forbids simony, a temporal good may be often given, according to some customs, allow'd by all the world for a spiritual good: how it is not simony in the Church Ministers to receive mony, on account of their spiritual administrations. How it is not simony to bequeath a fund to a Church for an annual Mass. How a Church is not guilty of simony, by engaging to say an *Obit* or Mass, for those who give such, or such, an alms, or offering. And also how mony may be given, for certain, sacred, and spiritual actions. Upon this last point, *Valentia* directs his reader to Saint *Thomas's* 3. art. where he has for examples the giving mony to the poor, to engage them to pray to God for us, the giving mony for Processions to get Prayers sayd for the dead, and other such like matters.

Thirdly, *Valentia*, by the distinction which at first he mention'd, of a temporal good given for a spiritual, as a motive, or grateful acknowledgment, explains how the retributions for entertainment of the Ministers of the Church are given, and receiv'd, without simony: and how they may in conscience take them, because they are given, not in payment, but by way of a gratefulacknowledgment.

In the fourth place, he says, that a fund bequeath'd

queath'd to a Church, on condition of a Mass, the money given for Processions, the alms given to the poor, on condition to have their Prayers, &c. are all receiv'd, without simony; because given, but as motives, to engage those, who accept them, to pray and do these spiritual duties for the givers. In all this, added *Cleander*, not only, nothing appears false, but it also seems to me, that no body cou'd do, or speak otherwise.

In the last place, since it is principally upon the direction of intention, and upon the distinction of a thing given, as a motive, or grateful acknowledgment, and not as a payment, that *Pascal* attacks *Valentia*, to give his doctrine an ill air, or make men take up a bad opinion of it, I was desirous to see, whether these distinctions, and directions of intentions, were, as well as the rest, taken out of *Saint Thomas*; and I found all this was purely the doctrine of this learned and holy man. Hereupon, *Cleander*, opening one of *Saint Thomas's* *Sums*, shew'd *Eudoxus* examples in it, almost, upon all the articles of the question.

"To receive any thing given for the administration of spiritual matters, as a payment is simoniacal; but it is lawful to receive it, as a retribution for his entertainment, or necessity.

Art. 2.
in concl.
& in
corp.

"To exact these retributions approv'd by custom, is not simony, provided the intention be directed only to the observation of the custom.

Ad. 4.

"Saint

In concl.
& in
corp.
ad 2.

“Saint *Thomas* says the same thing yet more
“fully in the following article ; as for the
“mony given to the poor it must be answer’d,
“that those who give them alms, to the end
“they may pray for them, do it not, with an
“intention to purchase their Prayers, but only
“out of a principle of liberality, and as a motive
“to engage them to pray to God for them . . .

Ibid.

“The procession made at a funeral, is judg’d
“a grateful compensation for the mony given.

Ad 4.

“It is not lawful for the admission of Reli-
“gious, to take or exact any thing, as a pay-
“ment, but it is, notwithstanding, lawful to re-
“ceive something, if the Monastery be poor . . .
“In like manner, it is lawful to be the more
“easy, in receiving a person, who, by giving
“great alms to the Monastery, shews he has
“a great deal of devotion for that place.

But above all, mind what follows, sayd *Cleander*, *It is also lawful, to excite this person, by temporal good turns or offices, to have a devotion for this Monastery; to the end he may be inspir’d and inclin’d to enter into it; altho it be not lawful to make a bargain to receive, or give any thing for his admission. If Escobar, instead of Saint Thomas, had made this distinction, and allow’d this direction of intention, Pascal wou’d not have pass’d it by, nor fail’d to have soon found a place in the Provincial Letters for these last lines.*

Cleander, after he had read all these passages to *Eudoxus* and the Abbot, pursu’d the point in this manner. I do confess to you, that after I had compar’d Saint *Thomas* and *Valentia’s* principles,

ciples, I was enrag'd to see, that the most criminal part of these distinctions, was attributed to *Valentia*, tho' he had but transcrib'd it out of Saint *Thomas*. But I was yet more enrag'd at *Pascal's* citation, and way of reporting *Valentia's* text. Who, having with Saint *Thomas*, sayd, that a spiritual good might be given for a temporal, or a temporal, for a spiritual, and prov'd it by the same examples this holy Doctor had made use of, is nevertheless made by *Pascal*, to speak in this manner. If a spiritual good be given for a temporal, that is to say money for a benefice, and that the money be given as the price of the benefice, it is plain, downright, simony; but if it be given, only, as a motive, to induce the benefic'd person to resign, *Non tanquam pretium beneficij sed tanquam motivum ad resignandum* it is no simony.

Who cou'd believe, but that these are the very words of *Valentia*, seeing them not only put down in an *Italian* character, but that the Latin words, also, are inserted with the French *Non tanquam pretium beneficij, sed tanquam motivum ad resignandum*, as if they had been the author's own text, joyn'd with the translation? and yet, notwithstanding, this Latin proposition is, altogether, an impudent contrivance of *Pascal*, or his friends, there not being the least footstep of it in any part of the whole treatise of *Valentia*.

Eudoxus, extreemly surpris'd, sayd, that this cou'd not possibly be; for which reason he himself resolv'd to read over, exactly, the chapter

chapter pointed at by *Pascal* ; where having found nothing like his quotation ; see , says he , crying out the height and perfection of impudence and imposture . I perceive , pursu'd he , clearly , the cheat . This principle , *that a spiritual good may be sometimes given for a temporal* , being once layd down and nakedly applied to the matter of benefices , has something in it very odious : for which cause *Pascal* was pleas'd to give his commentary this turn .

But why did not the Jesuits then take the advantage of such a falsification ? for it is very visible , gross , and full of affectation ; it was not , only , an unfaithful translation , whereby the authors thoughts were made weaker , or a strain'd sense put upon his expressions , but whole lines were falsly father'd on him , and Latin words , inserted in the French , which are not to be found in the text , pretended to be translated . Here are many essential words , both French and Latin added , which from a very harmless principle , makes a most scandalous proposition .

The Jesuits , answer'd *Cleander* , instead of making , as we have done , a plain , simple , exposition , of *Valentia's* doctrine , compar'd with the doctrine of Saint *Thomas* , amus'd themselves with distinctions ; which , in reality , were good , but not at all necessary . Whereupon their adversaries , quitting *Valentia* , began to wrangle and quarrel with them ; and thereby starting a new game , cheated and deluded them , but , as you very well say , they ought to have been

more

more stanch, made use of that occasion and stuck precisely to the matter of fact. They shou'd have oblig'd the Jansenists, to have shewn in *Valentia*, the words cited by *Pascal*; however such men, after such a cheat as this, are unworthy of any answer, till they have made public satisfaction by owning and condemning the tric. But this, in all appearance, they will be careful not to do.

I have upon this point, sayd the Abbot, confounded twenty Jansenists with the very book in their own hands: you have each of you hit upon the main difficulty, and the most essential part of the calumny. For in as much, as the application of *Valentia* and *Saint Thomas's* principle to the matter, to which they apply'd it, is very reasonable, and in as much, as the application they make of it, is necessary for instructing Ecclesiastics, how to purify and raise up their intentions, in such holy Ministrations, so much the more impious and ridiculous wou'd this principle be, and so much the more dangerous in the matter, to which it is apply'd by *Pascal*.

If a man shou'd say to a poor body, here I'll give you a crown, on condition you'll pray to God for me; and that another shou'd say to a benefic'd person, Sir your living is worth fifteen hundred livres a year, give it me, here are for you ten thousand livres in ready money; which I do not offer you as the price of your benefice, I have no such thoughts, but only as a motive to engage you to accom-
mode

mode me with it. Can any thing be more different than these two propositions, any thing more innocent than the first, or more extravagant than the second? the first is a common practice among Christians; clearly justify'd by the doctrine of *Valentia*; upon whom the second is grossly impos'd; which is as far from his thoughts as light is from darkness, or truth from error. This learned Divine maintains, that it is not always forbid, to give a spiritual good for a temporal; and he proves this assertion, by declaring expressly, that that, which obliges him, and all other Divines to hold this opinion, is, that, otherwise, the custom, universally receiv'd in the Church, must be condemn'd; pursuant to which, the spiritual services, render'd to the people by the Ecclesiastics, are done on condition of certain temporal retributions, which serve for the entertainment of the Ministers of the Altar. *In contrarium autem est, quod si ita esset, oporteret damnare universalem usum Ecclesiae, quo ferè quidquid spiritualis ministerij confertur in populum, confertur pro aliquibus subsidijs temporalibus, quibus Ministri alantur.* He explains, at the same time, how simony is avoided, upon these occasions, that is by giving a temporal good for a spiritual, not as the price, or payment, but only as a grateful compensation, or recognition, or as a motive whereby the person, out of a principle of gratitude, is engag'd, to grant the spiritual good, intended to be obtain'd by the temporal.

Durst *Pascal* contend or dispute, that thus to
give

give a temporal for a spiritual good, was not an usual custom among Christians, or that this usage was not lawful and innocent; or, lastly, that a man ought not to have the intentions *Valentia* suggests, and to exclude those, which he do's exclude in this matter. Durst he say, that from *Valentia's* principle, determin'd and restrain'd to the subject treated of by him and by Saint *Thomas*, it might be concluded lawful, to give money for a benefice? let him therefore make Saint *Thomas* himself speak, as he has made *Valentia*, and the whole Church say, whose custom we see is founded upon this principle of *Valentia*, and only sanctifi'd by the intentions prescrib'd by this Divine to Christians, and to the Ministers of the Altar; that their practice is to be extended much farther, than the principle it self. But to argue and speak exactly well upon this subject, it is necessary to study it, much better than *Pascal* has done.

The Divines, after Saint *Thomas's* example, establish'd the distinction of a temporal good given, as a motive, or as a payment; but it was only to be made use of in fit and capable matters; and in such instances, as we have already mention'd. It may, also, sometimes, take place in the matter of benefices; as in that particular case, which neither Saint *Thomas* nor *Valentia* have forgot.

A Bishop has receiv'd many great services from a person, who is neither incapable nor unworthy to enjoy a benefice: the Bishop
T gives

gives him one; in this there may, and there may not, be simony. If the Bishop, out of friendship and meer acknowledgment, has done him this favor, it is not simony. But if he gives him the benefice, as a recompense, acquitting him of all obligations to this man, in so much that he believes himself thereby dispens'd from paying his salary, or the money he had advanc'd for his service, it is simony. So that, let the Bishop direct his intention never so much to the motive of friendship or acknowledgment, the benefice is really given for payment. Let but the heart of those, who confer, change, or resign benefices, be but as right, as the distinctions of these Divines are reasonable and solid, and they will never be mistaken: but if the rectitude of their intentions be wanting, and they will but listen to the dictates of their consciences, they shall soon perceive, that these distinctions, ill apply'd, are not sufficient to set them at ease.

Here is an article, answer'd *Eudoxus*, that has held us a long time, and with reason; for there were many things in it to be disentangled and explain'd. But before we go to another, satisfy me in a small matter of fact; which during this discourse, wherein it was often mention'd, has given me some trouble, and which I have suffer'd to pass by, that I might not interrupt you. You have spoken, several times, of some latin words, inserted by *Pascal*, in the quotation of *Valentia's* passage, touching the money one might give to a benefic'd person for his

his benefice, *Non tanquam pretium, sed tanquam motivum ad resignandum.* Which I do not find in my edition, and yet, notwithstanding, it is one of the most criminal circumstances of the citation; and that which most demonstrates *Pascals* unfaithfulness and disingenuity.

I know it very well, reply'd the Abbot; these latin words were retrench'd out of the following editions, after they had wrought in the first, all their intended effect. The party were apprehensive of the bad consequences of such a falsification as this; of which it was very easy to convince the author, and upon which, after conviction, it was natural enuff, to make troublesom and pernicious reflexions; and therefore, without saying any thing, they left it out; and I do not believe, that even the Jesuits did ever perceive it, at least they never complain'd on't. But yet in this edition in *quarto*, you may see the words at length. *If a temporal good be given, for a spiritual, that is to say, money for a benefice, and that the money be given, as the price of the benefice, it is plain simony. But if it be given only as a motive, to incline the benefic'd person to resign; NON TANQUAM PRETIUM SED TANQUAM MOTIVUM AD RESIGNANDUM, it is not simony.*

If with all the other falsifications, sayd *Eudoxus*, which we have hitherto seen, upon so many different subjects, there shou'd yet be found some other of this size and force, I shou'd not think there was no ground for the

Proverb at that time current, *He lyes like a Janfenist*. But shall we be as long employ'd in discussing the passage in *Tanner* another Jesuit, whom *Pascal* makes an accomplice in *Valentia's* pretended crime? *Tanner*, added the good Jesuit in the Provincial Letters, *Tanner, who is still of our Society, says the same thing, in his third tome page 1519.*

No, sayd *Cleander*, for by reading but one colume, you will see they have calumniated him, just as they have *Valentia*. They open'd the book, and read him, and except the general proposition, that it is sometimes lawful, to give a spiritual for a temporal good, they found not one single word, which came near what was attributed to him by *Pascal*. He expresses himself, also, with more circumspection than *Valentia* has done: and the decisions he draws from his principles, do so clearly shew, he speaks but of the cases mention'd by *Saint Thomas*, that he, who pretends to find there any thing else, must needs be a whimsical, maggotpated fellow.

It must be acknowleg'd, that this is horrible, answer'd *Eudoxus*, and I cou'd hardly have believ'd it, if I had not seen it with my own eyes. But however, continu'd he, it cannot be sayd, that *Pascal* was never in the right against the Jesuits. And as for my self, I cannot but condemn the following decision according to which, a Priest, besides the ordinary retribution of the Mass, he says to the intention of one person, may receive from another also.

about

about a third part of that retribution, by yielding up to him, the share he himself has a right to pretend to, in the fruit, or benefit of the Sacrifice. This decision, is in *Escobar*, I have compar'd and found *Pascals* quotation of it true.

You wou'd therefore be very much surpris'd, sayd the Abbot, if I shou'd tell you, that *Escobar*, even by this decision, do's combat a relaxation in Morals. I shou'd indeed, reply'd *Eudoxus*, be extreemly surpris'd at that: for the question he proposes in this place, seems to me, to be very impertinent, and also to be very ill decided.

The thing, notwithstanding, answer'd the Abbot, is, as I say; and he argues against this relaxation, after the example of the holy and learned Canonist *Navar*, whose principles and doctrin he follows. This man speaks of some Priests of his time, who, abusing what Saint *Thomas* had sayd, that the satisfactory merit of the Sacrifice of the Mass, is infinit, take mony, without any ceremony, for their Mass from several persons; and pretend by the same Mass, to satisfy the obligation they were under, to all those persons; because, sayd they, that the Sacrifice, tho' offer'd for an infinity of worlds, was an inexhaustible treasure of satisfactions. This oblig'd Doctor *Navar* to consider the point; wherein making use of all his subtilty in Divinity, he distinguishes that part, which the whole Church has right to pretend to, in every Sacrifice, that which belongs to the per-

Do celeb.
Miss. &
in Man,
cap. 25.

sons for whom by name it is offer'd, and lastly that which is peculiar to the Priest; of which, sayd he, he may yet quit to others some part.

And do you approve of all this, sayd *Cleander*, speaking to the Abbot.

No by no means, answer'd the Abbot. *Escobar*, as well as *Navar*, wou'd have done much better, to have set forth in general to the Priests, the shame and infamy of this mean and sordid covetousness; which made them act as they did on these occasions, rather than to have set down all these distinctions, of which the practical consequences can no way agree with the spirit of the Church; and this also was the sense of the most able Jesuit Divines, as *Suarez*, *Laiman*, *de Lugo*, *Vasquez*, *Turrian* and many others; which they very fully express'd, as often as an opportunity offer'd: and these persons, in my opinion, do much better represent the Society, than this *Spaniard*, tho supported by the distinctions of the famous *Navar*.

This was one of the School subtleties; against some of which if men cry'd out and storm'd a little, I shou'd not be scandalis'd; provided a judicious choice, and a faithful and exact list were made of them; which wou'd be very much shorter than is commonly thought; and provided, also, they wou'd not falsely give out, that subtleties, were the fund, the marrow, and as it were the whole quintessence of School Divinity; and that, on the contrary, they wou'd give notice, of what is most true, that

that these kind of faults are very rare, in comparison of an infinit number of excellent things, very useful for the understanding of Religion and Christian Morals; which are to be found in this sort of learning. And, in the last place, that the little, which may be reprehended, or rejected, shou'd not be wholly put to the account of the Jesuits; who most certainly, to say no more, have not a greater share in it, than others.

Here is, sayd *Endoxus*, a project of accommodation, very fit to be propounded to some, peevish, learned men of my acquaintance; who are always in an ill humor against the Schoolmen; the greatest part of which persons, answer'd the Abbot, never read them; but they speak out of prejudice and prepossession; the discovery of an Epoch or period of time, by a manuscript, or a medal, is something more, in their esteem, than the discovery of the *Indies* by the *Portugees*. Shou'd but a Schoolman fall into a mistake, in such a point as that, it wou'd be, in their opinion, a hanging matter; and always to be punish'd with the last contempt. But let us return to our subject. Do you believe, added he, that *Pascal* cou'd long keep the character of a sincere and true judge or critic? I do not say that, answer'd *Endoxus*, and even Father *Bauni's* three following passages, which were joyn'd together, tho' taken out of several places, gave me, at the very first, some suspicion, which I soon perceiv'd was not ill founded. To shew that the Jesuits do

say *pro* and *con*, when they please, observe but how they speak in the Provincial Letters.

"Father Bauni do's in this exceed all others;
 "there is some pleasure in seeing this learned
 "Casuist penetrate into the *pro* and *con* of the
 "same question, relating to Priests, and to
 "find reason for both sides, so very witty and
 "subtle is he. In one place, in the tenth treatise
 "pa. 474, he says, that a law cannot be made
 "to oblige Curats every day to say Mass; be-
 "cause such a law wou'd, indubitably, *haud*
 "*dubie*, expose them to the danger of saying
 "it sometimes in a mortal sin. And notwith-
 "standing, in the same treatise page 441. he
 "says, That Priests, who receive mony for a daily
 "Mass, ought to say Mass daily, and cannot ex-
 "cuse themselves, by their not being always pre-
 "par'd, because they may always make an act of
 "Contrition, wherein, if they are wanting, it is
 "their own fault, and not the persons who engag'd
 "them to say Mass.

By reading this, continu'd Eudoxus, I cou'd not conceive, that it was to speak *pro* and *con*; so different are the subjects here treated of from one another. But, instead of any contrariety in the passages cited, I found out the malice of the person, who quoted them. If we do but translate the latin, there is in this matter, neither contradiction, extravagance, nor impiety, but all the discretion possible.

"This is his assertion: I say in the third
 "place, that when a Priest agrees with a per-
 "son to say Mass for him once a year, or
 "every

“every day, he sins if he do's not discharge
 “this duty, either by himself, or by some
 “other if therefore he do's not do it,
 “he ought to give back the whole mony to
 “the person from whom he first receiv'd it.

He afterwards makes this objection. *This would be, to put the Priest into an almost unavoidable occasion of sinning; to which he makes two answers, Cui argumento duplice hac responsione occurritur. The first, that, by an act of Contrition, he may return to God, and if he do's it not, (it is his own fault. This answer is not good,* sayd Cleander, interrupting him and laughing, at least, according to *Pascal's* principles; for it supposes, that Grace is not wanting, when, for want of it, a man is unable to fulfil, or obey the command.

For this time, I pray, let us not meddle with Jansenisme; that is not now our business, answer'd Eudoxus. Harken to the other part of Bauni's answer. *The second is, sayd he, that a Priest, not being oblig'd, by vertue of his agreement, to discharge this holy Ministry in his own person, and being at liberty to do it by another, it depends on him, if he himself be not prepar'd, to get Mass sayd by another; wherein there is neither sin nor danger. What say you to that, continu's Eudoxus? can any thing be better stated, or fuller of sense, than every point of this decision? and is not Pascal, think you, a man of honor, for suppressing, as he has done, the second part of this answer, not only to find a contradiction, in what this*

Divine

Divine has sayd, but also, to let his readers think, that he had, in conscience, oblig'd the Priest to commit Sacrilege?

I pray look upon this third passage, reported by *Pascal*. "May a Priest, having first been at Confession, say Mass the same day he committed one of the worst of mortal sins? no, sayd *Villalobos*, because of his impurity; but *Sanchez* says he may, and without any sin; whose opinion I hold safe, and to be follow'd in practice: *& rata & sequenda in praxi*.

This is a bold stroke, sayd *Cleander*; have a little patience answer'd *Eudoxus*; when I myself first read this place in *Bauni*, I was a little thock'd, but running over the table of the book, I fell by chance upon a word, that engag'd me to read the sixth chapter of the fourth treatise, whereby I found what his real thought was in this.

There he puts the same question, with reference to married persons, and teaches, that, after even the most lawful actions in this matter; the respect due to the holy Eucharist, obliges them, not to approach to it presently; and that they cannot be wanting in the decency requir'd in order to that mystery, without venial sin. He adds, that there may, notwithstanding, be reasons, which may lessen, or wholly take away the sin; the scandal, for example, which, in certain circumstances, might happen, if these persons shou'd not communicate: the solemnity of a great feast, or the extraordinary

extraordinary desire of communicating, where with God might inspire one in such a conjuncture. Thus it is evident, concluded *Eu- doxus*, that when *Bauni* speaks of Priests and Curats, whose duty he particularly treat's of, in the chapter, cited by *Pascal*, it is but in relation to some accidents, where the sin, on one side, and the necessity of saying Mass on the other, holds them in suspense. Whereupon, in the first place, he teaches, that a Priest, supposing he has made a good Confession, has all the essential dispositions, requir'd by the Council of *Trent* for the reception of the Eucharist; that is to say, that he is in the state of Grace: which, in spite of the imaginations of all our newfangled innovators, is most certainly true. In the second place, when *Bauni* sayd, this opinion was safe in practice, (he who thought it in married persons a venial sin) he intended no more but that a Priest, or Curat, might, without sin, follow this opinion, when the functions, joyn'd to his Ministry, did not absolutely dispense with him from saying Mass, which sometimes do's happen.

And in such a circumstance, a Country Curat, for example, might possibly be, whose parishoners, if they lost Mass upon a Sunday, by his forbearing to say it, wou'd take up strange suspicions of him. Let a man upon this decision consult, not our pretended reformers, whose mistaken severity has sometimes caus'd, on such like occasions, a great deal of scandal, but any Divine of good sense, who knows

knows how to apply the most solid principles of Morals to particular accidents and cases, and he will quickly find, whether he can think otherwise, upon this subject, than *Bauni* has done.

It is manifest, sayd the Abbot, that this must be *Baunis* opinion, after what he has sayd of married persons. But these favorable, and so well grounded expositions, are not to be made by the Jesuits: one part of a book is not enuff, to defend the other, and upon every decision in Morals, their Divines ought to have repeated all their principles, restrictions and circumstances, and prevented all manner of difficulties and objections. If they fail to do that, their adversaries wou'd be sure to make extracts of their books, and get these extracts censur'd, and afterwards publish'd, with beat of drum, or sound of trumpet, all over *Europe*, and the *Indies*, that the Jesuits doctrin had been condem'd. But is this all you have to say upon this place?

Yes, sayd *Eudoxus*, for as to what *Pascal* has made his Jesuit speak, touching the preference the Divines of the Society give the Casuists, before the Fathers, and such other trifling matters, we have already sayd enuff. It is true, answer'd the Abbot, but yet do you not look upon what he has advanc'd, in general, against the Jesuit *Filliucius*, as a calumny, to wit, that the laws of the Church, by being no longer observ'd do lose their force and vertue, *cum jam desuetudine abierunt*? this proposition, so express'd,

express'd, may be a false and dangerous maxim; whereas, in the instance *Filliucius* makes use on't, and whence *Pascal* has drawn it, it is the most reasonable in the world. I have really seen, sayd *Cleander*, abundance of people very much scandaliz'd at this proposition, taken in the sense *Pascal* has given it.

This maxim, answer'd the Abbot, is of use in the Civil and the Canon law, *Saint Thomas*, *Saint Antonin*, *Gerson*, and others, as well Divines, as Lawyers, do very often make use on't: and the very terms of *Filliucius*, are taken out of the law. But the application of it, may be, either, good, or bad: let us therefore see, how it is applied by *Filliucius*. According to *Pascal's* quotation, you will find it in the second tome treatise 25. nu. 33.

They read it, and saw, that *Filliucius* do's, there, treat of the punishments, decreed against blasphemers, in the old Testament by *Moses*, or, in the new, by Councils and Decrees of Popes. Whereupon he says, that the Confessors in their Confessionals, ought to enjoin those penalties if they had been still in use. But that some were never receiv'd in the Church, and others were become obsolete: *At vel recepta nunquam sunt, vel jam desuetudine abierunt*. Is any thing more true, than this matter of fact? and was this maxim ever apply'd more properly? this notwithstanding is the place *Pascal* makes use of, to prove, that the Jesuits laugh at the ancient discipline; and make all it's rules give place, to the frivolous maxims of their Casuists.

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That which follows, sayd *Cleander*, is a part of my task: but I must ingenuously confess, that my courage fail'd me, and I grew weary. You'll easily believe, that the comparing and confronting of texts and citations, cou'd not be a very agreeable entertainment for a man of my humor. I was no longer able to endure so toilsome and unpleasant a work; and therefore, resolv'd to refer my self for the rest, to the testimony and integrity of Mr. Abbot.

What, reply'd *Eudoxus*, laughing, do you give ground or fall back? this is not very fair nor stout. But I am very glad, I have gotten, over you, the advantage of perseverance; however, I cannot but frankly own, that, like you, I have already had strong temptations on this subject, and cou'd not have answer'd, much longer, for my own patience. For, whatever pleasure I take, in seeing Mr. Abbot clear and unfold so nearly, as he do's, these things, in the intangling and perplexing whereof, all *Pascal's* wit and cunning consisted; the matter is still very knotty and obscure, and obliges me to too much study and application.

Besides, the little we have seen, is more than enuff, to guide us in the judgment we ought to make of the Provincial Letters. *Perrault's* panegyric of them, cannot be more clearly justifi'd, than it has been by Mr. Abbot; I am above all things, for *The solidity of his arguments, and for his railleries always pure and decent.* The Jesuits have no cause to complain; for it cannot be more solidly prov'd, by any person, who

who contains himself within the bounds of good manners, that their Society is the plague of the Church, a body of wicked and extravagant sots and mad-men, that ought to be banish'd out of the Common-wealth, or shut up in *Bedlam*. It is not to detract, slander, calumniate, impose, or falsify, when all this is done with *Pascals* wit and pleasantry.

Raillery a part, we are indeed infinitely oblig'd to you, continu'd he, speaking to the Abbot, and we pray you, not to give your self any farther trouble, to prove to us, that *Pascal*, and those who furnish'd him with memoirs against the Jesuits, stood much more in need, than these Fathers did, of an exhortation to make their Morals more strict and severe. He, that has given occasion for this master-piece of calumny, and who daily studys to improve it, wou'd edify all true Catholics by recanting, or disclaiming it. This recantation wou'd certainly be necessary to discharge his conscience of a world of things, for which his great age cannot but advertise him, he must, very soon, give a terrible account to God.

Oho, answers the Abbot! you are well employ'd indeed to preach to Mr. *Arnauld* and endeavor to fill his head with scruples. I assure you, he has no more to do, but to dy; the pieces for his Canonisation are already prepar'd. And of this you cannot doubt, if you do but reflect, upon the veneration paid by his Party, to the memory of the Abbot of *Saint Cyran*. Notwithstanding the authentic testimonies

nies of Mr. *Vincent*, founder of Saint *Lazar*, which they have retrench'd out of the last edition of the life of this holy man (for that faction gains their point in all their undertakings) but which Gods Providence has still preserv'd elsewhere. Notwithstanding the testimonies of the Abbot of *Prières*, of the then Bishop of *Langres*, of the Archbishop of *Sens Bellegarde*, and which is more, of the late M. *Caulet*, Bishop of *Pamiers*, a witness very troublesom to *Port-Royal*, notwithstanding what *F. Gondren*, General of the Oratorians both sayd and knew, and several other witnesses of untainted reputations, of the pernicious designs, which this Abbot had contriv'd, and was carrying on against the Church, and of his heretical and extravagant opinions; in spite of all this, I say, the Abbot of *Saint Cyran* must pass for a Saint, if what is daily sayd by the Party, was to be believ'd, and for a great Servant of God, unjustly persecuted by Cardinal *Richelieu*, who look'd upon him as another *Luther*; judge by this, what will be sayd of Mr. *Arnauld*, whose zeal had quite another kind of success, than that of Mr. *Saint Cyran*.

But infine, continu'd the Abbot, you quit me at too easy and too cheap a rate; I had a mind we shou'd have carryed on our work, at least, to the tenth Letter; for those which follow are little more, than replications and frequent repetitions of the same sort of impostures. But in this you shall command; I, for my part, can only offer you, which I freely do,

to proceed, or continue what we have begun, when ever you please I will tell you more. I have in my head a small design, and which is pleasant enuff, of drawing up a scheme of the speculative and practical Morals of the Jansenists; a design, that cou'd very easily be put in execution: I shou'd have no occasion to send to the *Indies*, or have recourse to memoirs, brought five or six thousand leagues. No no, I wou'd confine my self within the bounds of *France* and *Flanders*; where most of the pieces I shou'd have need of, are certainly to be found: I wou'd follow the order of time, beginning with the Rise and Origin of these differences and disputes, and bringing it down to our own days; the books, and Original pieces of the process against the Abbot of *Saint Cyran*, wou'd, among other things, furnish me with a great deal of matter. And I know a thousand little stories, of several, that have, and still make, a figure among the party, which wou'd give me occasion enuff, to make the subject both pleasant and diverting. The single process of *Perrette* of *Lions*, Mr. *Arnauld's* the penitent, and by him supported against the Dean of *Senlis*, this *Devotes Uncle*, and *Gardian*. This suit alone, I say, well told, with all it's circumstances, wou'd, I can assure you, make a small tome that wou'd not tire the readers.

Mr. Abbot, sayd *Cleander*, you must needs go on with this design; it wou'd, without doubt, be very successful: but do you know,

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that I have taken the pains to write down our former discourses; that we have communicated them to some of our friends; that they already run about *Paris*; and that I am resolv'd to take the same course for the remainder?

I am of a meek, peaceful spirit and temper, answer'd the Abbot, and wou'd not willingly be an aggressor: but since you bring me into play by publishing our discourses, you may very likely expose me to be libell'd by the Jansenists: which may perhaps put me also, into the same humor, and make me, at least, endeavor an equal return. As for the rest, how tiresome soever, you may find the examination of the Provincial Letters, you must, notwithstanding, grant me upon this point two favors.

The first is, that you may have something in this matter perfect, at least, in some manner, you must give your self the trouble of reading two, or three small, loose, sheets of paper, concerning several general topics, treated of in the Provincial Letters; and which, together with the doctrine of probability, make, according to *Pascal*, the whole fund of the Jesuits Policy and Morals; that is to say, the direction of attention, the distinction of probable in speculation, and probable in practice; equivocations and mental reservations. You need not trouble your self with inquiries after the author; you will, in a few words, see in them all that is good or bad, as to these points of doctrine; and whether the Jesuits are blamable,

able, excusable, or commendable, for what they have writ and taught upon this subject: the reading of the whole, will not take up an hour of your time; and yet you will find it sufficiently instructive in this matter; whereof the greatest part of men, have little or no knowledge, but very slight and superficial notions. The cases made use of for examples, are drawn out of the seventh and eighth Provincial Letters, and the others following, which you wou'd not take the pains to examin.

The second thing I ask of you, is concerning the last article of the last Letter of ten addresses to *Pascals* friend in the country, which he calls *The Mystery of iniquity compleated*: because it relates to the love of God, which, according to him, the Jesuits say is not necessary to Salvation. We must, if you please, meet one of these days in your Jansenists friends library about this article, and then I hope to make amends for the occasion you lately lost of seeing us two engag'd in the discussions of much less important matters.

Eudoxus and *Cleander* answer'd, that it wou'd be a sensible pleasure to them, to see the papers he mention'd, and that for their conversation with the Jansenist, they wou'd take any time he shou'd think fit to appoint.

The seventh Discourse.

Eudoxus coming to the Abbot's house, and finding *Cleander* already arriv'd, sayd to him, we shall not fail, to day, of meeting our man. He had notice of our intentions, and is now actually waiting for us in his library. Let us take coach then, answer'd the Abbot; I am ready, only give me leave to take two or three papers, of which, I foresee we may have need. But yet before I go, I pray let me know what kind of man is he I am to deal with: I cannot for my life understand why you shou'd be so very shy, as hitherto you have been, to tell me the qualitys of an adversary, with whom you have so often threaten'd me.

What need you trouble your self, replied *Eudoxus*, laughing; have I not sayd enuff of him already, in telling you he is a Jansenist? however, since you are so desirous of being more fully inform'd of his character, it's fit you shou'd be satisfi'd. But yet, since he is one of my friends, 'tis possible, you may not think my account of him so fit to be believ'd; and therefore *Cleander*, who has seen him often with me and knows him well enuff, may speak of him more disinterestly, and with greater freedom.

He is an admirable man, sayd *Cleander*, and a perfect original. He has a great quickness of fancy, and an extraordinary readiness to express

press himself; which is to supply his want of wit, and he is so very wise, as seriously to value himself upon being a Jansenist: and looses no opportunity to make all men believe he is what he is; for he thinks to get, by this means, the title of a great wit. He has been but two years at *Paris*; he was before the chief Magistrat of the small town of....., during which time, he had frequent correspondence by letters, with Mr..... and Mr..... for whose interest and service, he made himself business enuff; and they were overjoy'd, for having found in that country, an emissary of his credit and reputation. They have, for a long time, look'd upon him, as one of their forlorn hope; and I my self have often compar'd him to a fireship; for the loss of which men are not much concern'd, provided it do's but first do execution and blow up some of the enemies great ships. *Eudoxus* has been acquainted with him several years, and I have known him ever since his coming to *Paris*. If his answers do not altogether satisfy you, his manner of making them will, at least, divert you.

That is to say, answer'd the Abbot, that you have as great an expectation to be made merry, as you have to be instructed. But without more words, they took coach and drove directly to *Timante's* lodging: this is the name, by which this new antagonist of the Abbot's is to pass. *Eudoxus* went strait up to the library, where he found him: and having saluted him,

told him he had brought the Abbot with him, of whom he had spoken the day before. He is, sayd he, an obstinat, head-strong, Molinist; who has lately resolv'd, to undertake the defence of the Jesuits against the Provincial Letters. I'll put him into your hands to deal with; and having conquer'd him, make him, I pray, submit, and do honor to the great Saint *Austin* and the honest party.

You have had the experience, more than once, answer'd *Timante*, that upon this subject, I am never taken unprovided. Give me but an adversary worth the trouble, and you shall find I will give you a good account of him. Without more a do, they went immediatly down to *Cleander* and the Abbot. I will very gladly, sayd *Timante* to them, make one in the discourses *Eudoxus* tells me, you have begun upon the Provincial Letters: you are a Molinist, continu'd he, addressing himself to the Abbot; and I declare to you, that I myself am a Jansenist, and ready to maintain the truth of these admirable Letters, as I would that of the Gospel. For there is nothing in them, but pure truth, without any mixture of error, lyes, or mistake.

I have a long time known, answer'd the Abbot, that the gift of infallibility has been allow'd Mr. *Arnauld* by his party; but I did not know, till now, that they granted the same privilege to *Pascal*. As for my self, I do not take upon me to defend the Jesuits doctrine in so universal a manner: I consider they are like

like other men, and believe them capable of being sometimes mistaken. But, however the matter stands as to other points, concerning which, *Eudoxus* and *Cleander* may some other time tell you their opinions, we are now come hither, but to inform our selves, by the help of your great library, of one single point. The matter is, to know whether, what *Pascal* has reproach'd the Jesuits with, touching the precept of the love of God, be true or false.

Ho! truly sayd *Timante*, this is a doubt quite out of fashion; and I admire *Cleander* and *Eudoxus* cou'd have patience to hear you upon this subject. I know not, answer'd *Cleander*, whether Mr. Abbot has the art to remove, or to make charms; but which soever of these is his talent, it is certain, he has given us a very different impression, from what we had before of *Pascal*. He has shewn us the Jesuits books, and, in them, has often made us read the direct contrary of what this writer pretends to have found; and I cou'd almost be tempted to believe, he had done the same things by these books, which some say, the Jesuits did with that of *Jansenius*, after the condemnation of the five propositions, which, being shewn in this book, to some persons, and they not thinking it possible, Mr. *Arnauld* cou'd have been guilty of a ly, when he affirm'd he never saw them in it, sayd these Fathers had falsifi'd *Augustinus*, and inserted in him the condemn'd propositions, which they were sure cou'd not be in the original edition; to which Mr. Ar-

nauld's affirmation related. I shou'd have thought as much, I say, concerning *Bauni*, *Valentia*, *Vasquez*, and several others, if the copys we made use of, had not, for the most part, come out of your library; where I am confident, you have none but good editions.

A man must really suffer himself to be charm'd, answer'd *Timante*, to take up such extraordinary sentiments as those you seem to be possess'd with. What, do's not Mr. *Pascal* speak truth in the Provincial Letters? where he quotes, not only, the books, but the very chapters, pages, and numbers; and mentions even the several editions? and are not the Jesuits the patrons of loose Morals? I dare you to say otherwise in *Paris*; unless you say it, before certain people, who are frited out of their little wits with the bugbear of Jansenisme: and yet among them, you will find some, who in the point now in debate, will not stick to declare themselves Jansenists; and who will subscribe, without hesitation to all the Letters, except the three first, wherein the author raillies about sufficient grace, the *potentia proxima*, and the assemblys of *Sorbonne*.

Let us quit the general thesis, sayd *Eudexus* interrupting him; and let every man think, or be of what opinion he pleases; let us come to the point, that brought us hither: are you not much edifi'd, continu'd he, to see how we interest our selves about the love of God? what do you maintain upon this article for *Pascal* against the Jesuits?

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I am ready to maintain, sayd *Timante*, *Pascals* proposition in all it's latitude, that *The Jesuits teach, that the love of God is not necessary to Salvation.* And what will you do, sayd *Eudoxus* to the Abbot?

I will maintain, answer'd he, and am prepar'd to prove it, that the Jesuits do teach the direct contrary, to what in *Pascals* words this Gentleman has affirm'd. It is indeed your business to prove it, replied *Cleander*. *Timante* denies the matter of fact, and you affirm it, shew us therefore how it stands in the Jesuits books.

We shou'd for a long time find employment, sayd the Abbot, if we shou'd read, one after another, all the writers of the Society, who in expresse terms say, that the love of God, is necessary to Salvation. I speak not of the books of Meditations, Spiritual Exercises, Christian Practices, and an infinity of other works of Devotion; wherein the Jesuits Preach up nothing so much, as the love of God. I pass by their *Rodriguez's*, the *Saint-Jure's*, the *Hayneuve's*, the *Suffren's*, the *Du Pont's*, and a thousand others, whose books you can no sooner open, than find this truth in them. But I will confine my self to their Divines, whose names wou'd make too long a list. You may however see it, in a book Printed at Louvain in 1689, intituled *Sexaginta quinque propositiones nuper à Sanctissimo Domino nostro Innocentio XI proscriptæ, à Societatis Jesu Theologis diu ante Sanctissimi Domini decretum consensu communissimo rejectæ.* Where there are no less,

less, than thirty cited. Will you be content with nine or ten, such as are the chief, and look'd upon as the Oracles of the Order?

He quit you for one half, answer'd *Timante*, in a bold and Magisterial tone. Abate Mr. Abbot nothing, sayd *Eudoxus*, and be not too forward; for I have found, by experience, that he is very exact in his quotations. Let us begin, sayd the Abbot, with Cardinal *Bellarmin*. Take the pains, I pray you, to reach me down his fourth tome. Listen to these his words.

L. 6. de
gr. & lib.
arbitr.
cap. 7.

"The holy Scripture do's not only say, that
"charity is the gift of God, but farther com-
"mands us to love God: it do's not com-
"mand us only to conserve the infus'd habit
"of charity, but also obliges us, to love God
"with all our heart: for the laws have for
"object, the acts of the vertues they com-
"mand, and not the habits.

Disp. 7.
sect. 12.
n. 250.

The Abbot also read in Cardinal *Lugo's* treatise of Penance, these words. "The command
"of loving God, is absolutely founded upon
"the law of nature; and altho there had been
"for it, no positive law from God, yet shou'd
"we be oblig'd to it, as all Divines do agree.
You here quote Cardinals, answer'd *Timante*, that is to say, men, who in quitting the Society's habit, quitted also their wicked maxims.

You do not know, replied the Abbot, nor are you oblig'd to know so exactly, the chronology of all the Jesuits books: *Bellarmin* and *Lugo* were still Jesuits, when they wrote those I have cited; and when the last sayd, all
Divines

Divines were agreed about this precept, he comprehended, without doubt, in this general proposition all of his own Society, at least, as much as others. But since, continu'd he, you will have no Cardinal Jesuits, I will pass *Toler*, whose testimony I was about to allege, and only stick to those, who were but Jesuits. I see on your shelf of Divines, the tome of *Suarez*, wherein he treats of the three Theological virtues: The Abbot open'd the book, and in his treatise of charity, read these following words. Dis. 6.
sect. 1.

“First, I say, that this precept concerns all men, and this is evident from the sixth chapter of *Deuteronomy*, *You shall love your Lord your God with all your heart, &c.* and by the tenth of Saint *Mathew*, *This command of loving God, is the first and greatest command of all* the reason of my conclusion is, that this love is a necessary means to Salvation, and that these kind of means have always the obligation of a command.

Certainly, sayd *Cleander*, interrupting him, when *Pascal* sayd, that the Jesuits taught the love of God was not necessary to Salvation, he ought to have excepted *Suarez* out of the number; for it is impossible, for any man to speak upon this subject, more clearly, than he has done in what we have read. *Hujusmodi dilectio est medium necessarium ad salutem.* In the mean time, to judge by the esteem this Divine is in, not only with the Society, but also with all others, whether if the Jesuits had been oblig'd to determin, which of their Body they wou'd have

have pass for the chief Divine, they must not have chosen this man. They have not, in reality, as I have been assur'd, any one, whose doctrin is more the doctrin of the Jesuits, than this authors doctrin is; nor who is more generally follow'd.

I will add to this, sayd *Eudoxus*, what was lately told me by one of my friends, who travell'd much in *Spain*, to shew the great opinion they have of this Divine in that country; where, he sayd; the reputation of *Suarez* was so great, that in most Universities, he was quoted in their disputes, and the Defendants, to whom his authority was urg'd, durst not refute him, but were oblig'd to reconcile, whatever was out of him objected, with the doctrin of the Thesis: he also told me another thing pleasant enuff, that in many towns of *Spain*, and particularly at *Perpignan*, the inhabitants, even the Artificers, as well as other tradesmen, are divided into two factions; one *Suarists*, the other *Thomists*; in so much, that in the public sports and recreations, the men are chosen out of these two different partys; and that the acclamations were frequently heard at bowls, sometimes, of the *Suarists* and sometimes of *Thomists*, according to the various success of the gamesters, all, ready to fall together by the ears, the one party for *præmotio physica*, and the other for *Scientia media*.

Timante, notwithstanding the trouble he was in, on account of the passages cited by the Abbot, out of these three famous Jesuits, cou'd

not

not forbear laughing at this odd proceeding of the *Spaniards*; and wou'd willingly have carry'd this digression farther; but the Abbot immediately returning to the point, sayd to him, you see by what *Eudoxus* and *Cleander* have spoken, that if the Jesuits cou'd have thought themselves honor'd in the Schools by the name or reputation of any one of their Doctors, as the *Thomists* do by that of Saint *Thomas*, certainly they wou'd on this score have prefer'd *Suarez* to *Molina*. And, indeed, few Jesuits do follow *Molina*, in comparison of those, who stick to the principles and opinions of *Suarez*, *Vasquez* and *Bellarmin*; and they are *Molinists*, but because they maintain, and with reason, that the doctrin of *Molina*, is without error; wherein there is none to be found, without misrepresenting and disfiguring it, that they might have a handle and pretence to refute it with the greater advantage. But since you have given me the name of *Molinist* the very first moment I have the honor of seeing you, it is fit I shou'd make good and maintain my character with credit and reputation; and that I shou'd also demonstrate to you, that if *Molina* be to be believ'd, *Pascal* must have spoken falsely, when he asserted, that the Jesuits taught, *The love of God was not at all necessary to Salvation*. I shall find, in less than a minut, the place I want: I have it, listen therefore, I pray, to what this Jesuit says.

"I am perswaded, that we are oblig'd, by Tract. 5^e de just. disp. 59.
"the precept of the love we owe to God, un-
"der n. 6.

Num. 7.

“der pain of mortal sin, to defend his interest,
 “to oppose every thing, which may wound his
 “honor, or his glory, and to do every thing,
 “which, we believe, may be useful to this pur-
 “pose; and that we ought to do it, even with
 “the hazard of our lives; which do's not hin-
 “der, says he two pages after, but that there
 “may be, a particular command of the love
 “of God, as a thing due to him, and that
 “this love may be commanded, as a necessary
 “means to obtain the possession of God and
 “of eternal life.

Tom. 3.
 dilp. 2.
 de spe &
 charit.
 q. 4.
 dub. 4.
 n. 62.

After this, the Abbot shew'd in *Tanner*, these
 words; “The command which obliges us to
 “love God, is like a first principle, known,
 “and acknowleg'd by all the world.

Tom. 3.
 dilp. 3. q.
 19. pun. 1.

He found in *Valentia*, this which follows.
 “When we inquire, how and when the com-
 “mand of loving God do's oblige us, we do
 “presuppose, as a thing most certain, that
 “there is such a command. For this is evi-
 “dent both by Scripture and by reason. And
 “a little lower, I say, in the first place, that
 “we are oblig'd, by this command, to love
 “God; not to love him with a common love,
 “but as our last end, and by consequence
 “with a soverain love, preferring him above
 “all things in the world.

Layman also speaks, in this manner. “The
 “precept of the love of God, is call'd in the
 “22th. of Saint *Mathew*, the first and greatest
 “command of all; because it relates to the first
 “act of the most excellent vertue, and the most
 “necessary to Salvation. See

See likewise, what *Beccanus's* opinion is, in this matter. "There is a twofold command of loving God, the first is general, and comprehended in all parts of the Decalogue, which obliges us to keep the law of God: the second is positive and particular, and obliges us to make an act of charity, whether this act be produc'd by, or is the motion of our love to God, or a detestation of our sin for offending God.

De Sacram. c. 33 q. 6. n. 4.

Thomas Sanchez thus argues. "Nothing is more certain, than that there is a command of loving God; the reason is, because the act of loving God is necessary to Salvation; He that loves him not, sayd Saint John, is dead already; but all that is necessary to Salvation, is commanded.

In decal. l. 2. c. 35. n. 1.

Have you then a mind, sayd *Eudoxus*, interrupting, and addressing himself to *Timantes*, that Mr. Abbot shou'd turn over, and confound all your library? there is no more room on your table for these folio's; have you not seen enuff to convince *Pascal*, either of rashness or of lying? of lying, if he has, as he ought to have done, consulted all these authors; of rashness, if he has advanc'd, upon the credit of an other, That the Jesuits taught the love of God was not necessary to Salvation. These are the most learned and most famous of all their Divines; and most of the others do but copy, or abridge, what they have written. What answer can you make to all these matters of fact?

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I answer, sayd *Timantes*, equally troubl'd and surpris'd, by another enumeration made by *Pascal* in the same place, according to which the Jesuits of *France* are of a contrary opinion. Observe but the words of Mr. *Pascal's* Jesuit. "Thus our Fathers have freed men from the "troublesom obligation of actually loving God: "and this doctrin, is so advantageous, that "our Fathers *Anat*, *Pintereau*, *le Moyne* and *A. Sirmond* himself, defended it vigorously, when "others had a mind to run it down. It seems to me, added *Timantes*, that *F. Sirmond* alone, is to be valued full as much as *Sanchez*, *Suarez*, and *Layman*, and perhaps many more all joyn'd together.

The Abbot, at these last words of *Timantes*, fell a laughing, what sayd he to him, do you believe the Father *Sirmond* here spoken of, to be that famous Father *Sirmond*, who, in spite of the Jansenists utmost envy and malice, preserv'd so great a name and reputation among all the learned, not only of the Catholic Church, but also of all other sects and partys whatsoever. He is not, at all, the person intended: your error nevertheless is very pardonable, since it is founded but upon *Pascal's* malice.

And, really, when after Father *Anat*, and Father *le Moyne*, men known, and, upon many accounts, very valuable, these words, and Father *A. Sirmond* himself, are seen to be added, by way of gradation, who wou'd not believe, but that this must be meant of the renowned Father *Sirmond*: he was the only one publicly known
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in the world, and known commonly, but by his surname. The preference, in point of merit and authority, which the word *himself* gives to the person here spoken of, above Father *Anat*, and Father *le Moine*, leaves no place to doubt, but that he must be the person intended. Among two thousand men, who shou'd read the Provincial Letters, there wou'd not be found six, that shou'd not believe the Society's reputation wounded by this reproach on one of their members, who is accounted the chief ornament of their whole body; and I do on this account, forgive your having oppos'd him, to *Suarez*, *Sanchez*, *Layman* and *Molina*: and also to the two Cardinals, *Bellarmin*, and *de Lugo*.

But really, the man *Pascal* speaks of, is a man very little known, and of no consequence: however, it shall not ly at my door, if we examin not, what relates to him: for there wants a great deal to make the idea given of this Father *Sirmond's* doctrine, to be true: but first, let us see, whether Father *Piniereau*, Father *Anat*, and Father *le Moine*, do vigorously defend it. For in this also, there is an equivocation, to say no worse of it, as great, as in the name of *Sirmond*. Have you, sayd the Abbot to *Timantes*, the Jesuits apology against *la Theologie Morale*?

I have, answer'd he, all that has been written on both sides in this matter; but I do, notwithstanding, own to you, that I have read very little of what the Jesuits have writ in their

own defence. They are too serious, and do not divert me as Mr. *Pascal* do's; and besides, all he says, has a certain air of truth, which is of it self perswasive, and makes it unnecessary to read all those rapsodies, his adversaries have heap'd up together, with design to refute him.

This method of hearing but one side, answer'd the Abbot, laughing, is very wonderful, for, the enabling men to make a right and equitable judgment between two contending parties. Which words he had no sooner ended, than he took into his hands the book attributed to Father *Pintereau*, intitled, *Les impostures & les ignorances du libelle intitulé la Theologie Morale des Jesuites : par l'abbé du Boisic*. He read in it the passage cited by *Pascal*; where the author do's but maintain these words of the Council of Trent, That Attrition, produc'd by the fear of hell, disposes the sinner to receive Grace in the Sacrament, altho, that, without the Sacrament, it is not sufficient to justify him. There this Divine shews, that the opinion, which holds, that Attrition, with the Sacrament do's justify, is the doctrine of, almost, all Divines, especially since the Council of Trent; that altho these Divines do not treat the contrary opinion as heresy, yet many of them do esteem it very rash; because the words, of the Council upon this subject, do appear so positive and express, and which is more, he quotes a censure of *Sarbonne*, in the year 1638, which says the same thing; a man cannot see in all this text of Father *Pintereau*, one single word, which

shews

2. part.
p. 12.
&c 53.

sec. 14.
2. 4.

shews the love of God is not necessary for Salvation. How then and by what rules of honesty, durst Pascal place this Divine in the number of those, who maintain the opinion he attributes to Father Sirmond, *That the love of God, is not necessary to Salvation?* Cannot one then defend, with Catholic Divines, the Council of Trem's doctrin concerning Attrition, without being suspected to destroy the precept of the love of God?

He! do you no see, replied Timantes, that in the words quoted by Mr. Pascal, your Jesuit treats the obligation of loving God, as a difficult and troublesom thing?

Nothing is to be chang'd in the terms, sayd the Abbot; Pascal thus sets them down. *It was therefore reasonable he shou'd take away that troublesom and difficult obligation man was under, by the law of rigor, of exerting an act of perfect Contrition, to be justifi'd, and that he shou'd institute Sacraments, which might supply it's defect, with the help of a more easy disposition:* if he has sayd, that this obligation of a perfect Contrition, was troublesom and difficult, he has sayd so, after an infinit number of Divines; and this is very true, in the sense, wherein so many learned men have sayd it. An act of perfect Contrition, which includes an act of the pure love of God, is the most heroic act of Christian vertue; and most directly opposit to self-love; of which it stifles and excludes those motions, which appear the most lawful. He there speaks of a sinner, who by that means

was to quit his sin, and make an effort to break his chains, and his will of iron, as Saint *Austin* calls it, which keeps him fast bound: for this act a man needs one of the strongest graces, that is in all the treasures of God's mercy. Infine, this is an act so hard, and so contrary to corrupted nature, that the Divinity of *Port-Royal* allows it to very few men in the world; and it was partly upon the account of the difficulty of making on't, that they formerly excluded from the Communion, so many penitents for whole years, and even at Easter, in spite of the commands of the Church.

Who then can doubt, if this doctrine be true, that Attrition, with the Sacrament, is sufficient to justify a sinner; but that it is a particular favor, granted by the new Testament, to those under the law of the Gospel, and an advantageous effect of the blood of *Jesus* shed for us, and apply'd to sinners in the Sacrament of Penance; since it is an easy way of returning to God, which they had not, who liv'd under the yoke of the old law. What occasion is there then of crying out, as *Pascal* do's immediatly after, *O Father, you put a man out of all patience, and the things that you have sayd to me cannot be heard without horror?* This is follow'd with a whole Sermon full of new impostures and calumnies, and wherein several passages of Scripture, concerning the love of God, are abus'd, to give the bloodiest wounds, that ever could be given to brotherly love and Christian charity.

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They made an end of reading what was in Father *Pintereau* upon this subject, and what related to it, in the Apologies of Father *Anat*, and Father *le Moyne*. Where the whole is reduc'd, not to maintain the opinion of Father *Antony Sirmond*, such as is attributed to him, but to defend the man, by endeavoring to shew, that his accusers had not understood his meaning aright, and that there was nothing worse in his expressions, than in the expressions of many other Catholic Doctors, against whom, they had never objected any thing.

Timantes, whose trouble and confusion increas'd, in proportion to their going on, foam'd and sputter'd at this, and, after beating about the bush very much, to very little purpose, address'd himself briskly to the Abbot, and sayd: Infine Sir, declare your self, do you make any difficulty to give up and quit to me even this Father *Sirmund*? We shall soon see, answer'd the Abbot, whether we shall capitulate at last; but I wou'd gladly first try, at least, whether I, also, may not be able to defend him.

That do's not appear to me very necessary, sayd *Cleander* interrupting him, to satisfy our curiosity: *Eudoxus* and I, with neither good nor harm to the Ghost of this good Father, who has it seems been dead above these fifty years: besides the reputation of the Jesuits, for which you interest your self more than all of us, is already sufficiently secur'd, by the croud of authors you have cited out of their Society;

Manifeste
Apologes
pour la
doct des
religieuses.

Theol.
Moral.

"This privat man, to make use of the Poëtie
 "style and terms of Father le Moyne, was nei-
 "ther a Giant, nor a man like Geryon in the
 "fable, with several bodys, that upon the au-
 "thority of his little book, it shou'd be sayd
 "of all the Jesuits together, *They have gone so*
 "far in impiety, as to maintain, that an interior
 "act of the love of God, was but counsel'd and
 "not commanded.

All this is very true, answer'd the Abbort,
 but you see, *Timantes* is not so easily conten-
 ted as you; he argues upon other principles,
 and I am going to satisfy him. Say rather,
 replied *Timantes*, that you are a going to
 wrangle and cavil with him.

Not at all, sayd the Abbort, my design is
 only to extricat and clear things a little. I
 have, more than once, observ'd, that one of
Pascals secrets, is to puzzle and confound mat-
 ters; that he possesses, in perfection, the art
 of magnifying objects, and that giving them
 afterwards to *Wendrok*, who is naturally, as is
 sayd, very fanciful, he turns them into specters,
 or bugbears, against which, *Don Quixote* like,
 he fights with all imaginable rage and fury;
 and with a heat and fire, which makes him,
 from time to time, commit very gross sole-
 cismes amidst those fine Latin phrases, that
 made him pass for the *Cicero* of the party, in
 the opinion of all those, who understood no-
 thing of the matter.

Solecismes in *Wendrok*, answer'd *Timantes* in a
 fret; those are the Jesuits calumnies: there is
 better

better Latin, and more elegance in his notes and translation, than there is in Petavius, Sirmond, Maffius, and all their writers put together. The dispute, at present, is not of *utroque* solecisms, sayd *Emoxus*, interrupting him, but certain it is, that Mr. Abbot shew'd me some lately, of which I had not taken notice, and which might, possibly, have escaped you also, as well as me: but let us put this matter off to another time. You must, Mr. Abbot, now satisfy, if you can, *Timantes* upon the point in hand.

This indeed is my intention, answer'd the Abbot; let us therefore return to our subject, and read the passage in the tenth Letter, wherein he himself found these words. "I will pass by all that fooling, where the wit of the man so insolently sports it self with the love of God; but, pursu'd he, our Father *Antony Sirmond*, who triumphs upon this matter in his admirable book of the *Défenſe de la vertu*, where he speaks, as he tells his reader, French in France, discourses thus in the 2d. to. sect. i. p. 12. 13. 14. &c. *Saint Thomas* says, that a man is oblig'd to love God, as soon as he comes to the use of reason: that's a little too soon: *Scotus* says, every Sunday: upon what is this founded? others hold, when one is grievously tempted, yes, in case there be no way but this to avoid the temptation. *Scotus* says, when one receives a benefit from God; good to thank him for it. Others say at the hour of death, that's late indeed. Nor do I believe, that this

"ought to be done upon the reception of some Sacra-
 "ment; Attrition with Confession, if they have
 "convenience of making on't, is sufficient for that.
 "Suarez says, that a man is oblig'd to it, some
 "time or other; but at what time? he makes you
 "your self judge of that, for he himself knows no-
 "thing of it; nor indeed do I; for who shou'd
 "know what this Doctor did not? And he con-
 "cludes, at last, that a man in rigor, is not
 "oblig'd to any thing, bnt to observe the
 "other commands without any affection for
 "God, and without giving him his heart, pro-
 "vided he do's not hate him. And this he
 "proves at large in his second treatise. When
 the Abbot had read thus far, he sayd to *Timan-
 tes*, you are Sir a Divine without doubt.

No indeed Sir, answer'd *Timantes*, neither
 was Mr. *Pascal*, but this did not hinder him,
 from arguing extreamly well upon all Moral
 matters; wherein a man needs but common
 sense to make a right judgment. A man must
 have something else besides that, replied the
 Abbot, to judge well of some subjects; and I
 cannot upon this, give you the satisfaction I
 desire, without entring a little into Divinity:
 bear with me I pray you but one moment, I
 shall not be long.

First, there never was a Divine, that absolutely
 denied we had a precept of loving God, and that
 the observance of it was necessary to Salvation:
 but after the Doctors had, for the better clear-
 ing of things, made a distinction in this matter
 of several kinds of precepts, they were divided
 upon some points.

2. This

2. This precept, they say, is, at once, both a general, and a particular precept; because it is impossible to fulfil, or obey it, in it's full extent, without the observation of all the other commands; of which we cannot violate a single one, without wounding and destroying the love which we owe to God. They account it a particular precept, because it enjoins acts of a certain particular vertue, that is to say, acts of love, which, in their kind, are wholly different from the acts of the other vertues, by which we observe, or keep the rest of the commands.

3. The precept of charity, is, both negative and affirmative, a precept is call'd negative, when it is consider'd with reference to the things it prohibits to be done. 'Tis call'd affirmative, when it is consider'd with reference to the things it commands to be done. Thus, the precept of the love of God, is negative, in as much as it forbids us to hate the supreme good; which is to be understood, not only, of a formal hatred, a sin, of which, seldom any but the Devil is guilty, but also of every other sin; because that every sin comprehends, or includes a distance and separation from God. This precept is affirmative, in as much as it commands us, to make, on some occasions, acts of the love of God: for example at the hour of death, or upon our first coming to use of reason, which represents God to us, as our ultimate end.

The Divines farther teach, that a precept may

may oblige either, by it self, by it's own virtue, or by accident: their terms are *per se* and *per accidens*. It obliges by it self, from the moment it enjoyns me, independently; and without reference to any other precept, to do an act of the particular virtue, to which it has a relation: thus the precept of charity, will oblige me by it self, if, independently on all other precepts, it obliges me, to make acts of the love of God. A precept obliges by accident, when I am bound to acquit my self of some incumbent duty, or to resist some temptation, and that neither the one, nor the other, can be perform'd without doing the act commanded by this precept: thus finding my self, in some circumstance, oblig'd by the precept of repentance, to make an act of perfect Contrition, the precept of charity, upon this occasion, obliges me, by accident; because that the act of Contrition, being a detestation of sin, proceeding from the pure motive of the love of God, I cannot fulfil the precept of repentance, without making an act of the love of God.

In fine, all Divines agree; that there is a precept or command to love God; that this precept is negative; because it includes a prohibition of doing any thing against God; and that it is affirmative also; because it obliges us to some particular duties. They likewise agree farther, that it is a general precept, extending it self to the observation of all other commands; and that it is, also a special, or particular

cular precept, obliging us, at least, by accident, as in the case of the necessity of Contrition and some others. The whole current of Divines do, I say, agree in all these points; and Father *Antony Sirmond* also agrees with them in the treatise we are now upon. And it is not of this, he is accus'd, but in accusing him of another thing, they conceal, or dissemble his having taught, even this; which alone, if made known, wou'd have suffic'd to have less'n'd a great deal, the horror they endeavor'd to bring upon his whole doctrin. The single question then, that can here be put with reference to the doctrin of this Divine in particular, is to know, whether, supposing all these other obligations, wherein the whole world agrees, this precept, as far forth, as it is special, or particular, and affirmative, do's oblige us, not only by accident, but also by it self, to make formal acts of love, by which we say to God, *My God I love you with all my heart.*

To that this author answers, that there is one command of God, by which we are oblig'd to have this love, which he calls *affective*, Pag. 17. as there is likewise one, by which we are enjoin'd to have this other love, which he calls *effective*, and the love of execution. Which, consists in an exact observation of his commands; but that the command of affective love, is a command of sweetness, which God do's not give under pain of damnation, because, sayd he, a Father do's not say to his Children, *Love me, or I will kill you.* And that, on the Pag. 19. contrary,

contrary, the command of effective love, or of execution, is a rigorous command, because if we do not fulfil it, we must go to hell.

This is somewhat subtil, sayd *Eudoxus* interrupting him. A little too much, answer'd the Abbot, and if *Timantes* shou'd say but that, we shou'd soon agree. I say, replied *Timantes*, that this proposition, is execrable and impertinent, and tends to the subversion of all Morals; and the intire corruption of manners.

Forbear a while, I beseech you, answer'd the Abbot, your hyperbolies and exaggerations; such things are good for nothing but to blind and dazzle men, who are not us'd to make reflexions. Let us look into things a little nearer. Do you believe, that it is this love *affective*, which troubles and confounds the common sort of Christians, and gives them pain in their way to heaven? no, truly, it is the love *Sirmond* calls *effective*; it is this exact fulfilling the commands of God, which discourages and overcomes nature. Let us, on the contrary, suppose, that there shou'd be no command at all, of affective love, but that the command of effective love shou'd subsist and be accomplished; behold then the world reform'd; there wou'd be no more injustice, nor envy, nor jealousy, nor dissentions, nor impurities, nor debauches; since this reformation, the exercise of effective love, and the observation of the precept, which commands it, is but one and the same thing. Let this doctrine then of *Sirmond*, be as false as you will; to say it tends

to the relaxation and corruption of manners, is to give the world a very false alarm.

Let us come a little closer to the matter, descend to particulars, and propose, according to the principles of *Sirmond*, this case. A man exactly observes all the commands of God, either out of that saving, pious, supernatural, fear, spoken of by the Council of *Trent*, and by it affirm'd, in opposition to *Luther*, to be a guist of the Holy Ghost, or out of some other good motives of a different vertue from charity: a Christian, for example, hears Mass very devoutly on Sundays and Holy-days, and he hears it out of a motive of the vertue of Religion, which obliges him to honor him, whose infinit excellence and perfection merits the homage and adoration of all the creatures in the world: he communicates often, with this prospect and consideration, fully persuaded, that God is infinitely honor'd by this action, by reason of the victim which is offer'd in the holy Sacrifice. The same motive, hinders him from swearing, blaspheming, and from being immodest in the Church. By a motive proportionable to this, he honors his Father and Mother, as persons, who to him are in the place of God. He submits himself intirely to his other Superiors, by the motive of the Obedience he ow's his Maker. He gives alms to the poor, by the motive of mercy: he fasts for Mortification, and in Obedience to the Church. In one word, sometimes by one of these motives, and sometimes by another, he avoids

avoids offending God; or if he do's offend him, he presently returns again, and detests his sin in the Sacrament of Penance, encourag'd by the motives of some one of these virtues I have spoken of. By behaving himself in this manner, he observes the negative precept of charity, and fulfils the command of effective love.

Now the question propos'd by Father *Sirmond*, is, to know, whether a man living in this manner, without any other formal act of the pure love of God, wou'd violate the command of charity, and sin mortally.

This is not altogether the case, sayd *Timantes*, interrupting him; you omit an essential circumstance, remark'd by Mr. *Pascal*, or rather, you add such a one, as hides the poyson of this doctrin; it is, that *Sirmond* wou'd have it, that this man keeps the Commandments *without any affection for God*, and by consequence observes the law, not as a Christian, but as a Jew. Harken to what Mr. *Pascal* says upon it,

"Father *Sirmond*, sayd he, at last concludes, "that, in rigor, we are oblig'd to nothing "more, than to the observation of the other "Commandments, WITHOUT ANY AFFECTION FOR GOD, and without giving him our heart, provided we do not hate him. This is, what he proves at large, in "his second treatise. Mind well, I pray sayd *Timantes*, these words *without any affection for God*.

I have observ'd them very well, answer'd the Abbot, and have also, at the same time, taken notice,

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notice, that they contain a most notorious imposture. Here's the book, I defy you, to shew me in it those words. Read the 16. 19. 24. and 28 pages, quoted by Pascal. If you find them there, I will own my self the impostor I have call'd him. Father *Sirmond*, in this whole question, where he opposes love *affective* to love *effective*, excludes nothing from effective love, but only the motive, or the sole affection of pure charity, by giving it the motive of some other vertue. His design, in the treatise, is chiefly to examin this point, *whether it be permitted, to act by hope, or fear, or any other motive, but the pure love of God*; as he speaks in his preface, and as it is impossible, for any one, not to see, that reads this treatise, either in whole, or in part. But to convince you, we need but hear how he explains himself in his decision of this question.

The Abbot in the 221^b. page, read these words. "He, who do's not find himself inflam'd with this Divine fire, and yet notwithstanding, keeps himself, out of some other good consideration, so mindful of his duty, (observe, in your turn, sayd the Abbot, these words, *out of some other good consideration*) that he has no affection in his heart, thought in his mind, passion in his Soul, nor power in his person, whose interest he do's not quit, to accomplish, or fulfil, in all things, the main will of God; even in cases, where he may be disgrac'd, for governing himself as reason dictates, or directs."

“rects. He that is in such a state, obeys the
 “rigor of this great Commandment, and do's
 “that, which is necessary and sufficient to
 “Salvation.

It is therefore false, pursued the Abbot, that
 this author is content, that Christians shou'd
 observe, or keep the law as a Jew purely, in
 an exterior manner, without letting his heart
 have any share in it; since he exacts, that it
 shou'd be done, by some, holy motive, and
 that it be strong enuff, to make us in all
 things prefer God's interest to our own. For
 listen, I pray you, to what he farther adds:
 “So that we never put any thing in ballance
 “with him, nor waver between his service, and
 “that of the creature, wilfully uncertain, to
 “which of the two we shou'd give our selves
 “up, much less, that we shou'd not prefer
 “any thing to him, nor suffer our selves to
 “act contrary to his will.

And well, sayd *Timantes*, in turning the thing
 even as you say, and as you pretend, your
Sirmond understood it, will you maintain this
 doctrin in all it's points?

I do not say that, answer'd the Abbot; for
 I am, with the multitude of Jesuits I have cited
 to you, of a contrary opinion; and believe, as
 they do, that the precept of charity do's, in
 rigor, oblige us to make, from time to time,
 formal acts, as they express it, of the love of
 God, and distinguish'd from the acts of obedi-
 ence, of fear, of religion, and of that love
 effective, whereof he speaks. But, without
 defending

defending the doctrine, a man sometimes may, as I have already sayd, defend the author, and therefore see, I pray, what, I believe, a man may yet say to justify him.

1. He is not the first Divine, that has spoke in this manner: have not you, sayd he to *Timantes*, the book writ at *Louvain*, by Doctor *Dubois*, Royal Professor of the holy Scripture in that University, concerning the propositions in Morals condemn'd by Pope *Alexander VII* in 1665 and 1666? Yes I have, answer'd *Timantes*, and nothing is written in that country, upon such kind of subjects, but is sent me by some of my friends among the Doctors of Divinity: look you here it is.

This author, replied the Abbot, seems to be a sincere man; he is not at all of the opinion you and I disapprove; on the contrary he refutes it; but before he do's so, see how many authors he reckons to have taught it. Into which number he put *Bannez* a famous Divine of Saint *Dominicks* Order; Cardinal *Cajetan* of the same Order, *Marchantius*, *John Sanchez*, who must not be mistaken for the Jesuit *Sanchez*, *Jansenius* Bishop of *Gant*, *Malanus* a Doctor of *Louvain*; the greatest part of these persons wou'd have been, for their learning, quality, and characters, much more worthy adversaries for *Pascal*, than this good Father *Antony Sirmond*: but alas his business was to seek for adversaries, only from among the Society.

A certain person lately made me make a reflexion which may be of some use to the Jesuits: it is, that the Jansenists cry Victory,

and believe themselves secur'd against all their adversaries attacks, and shelter'd against the Churches excommunications, if they can but discover some *Thomists*, whose expressions come near theirs upon the subject of Grace, notwithstanding the contempt they have, at bottom, for the doctrine of this School: which they treat by the name of *folly*, when they speak in confidence to one another, believing it, with their Master *Jansenius*, very distant from the thoughts, ideas, and system of *Saint Austin*. Why, therefore, shou'd not a Jesuit be freed from blame, or at least excus'd, when he can produce, as may be done here for *Sirmond*, famous Doctors, Cardinals and Bishops, rais'd to these dignities, by the merits of their learning and their vertues? Another author, with whom I am not acquainted, who calls himself *Florimond du Plessis*, cites in favor of *Sirmond*, the most eminent and illustrious of all the old Divines. *Saint Antonin*, *Sylvester*, *Almain* Doctor of *Paris*, the learned *Tostatus*, *Gerson*, and many others, whose expressions are perfectly like his.

In the second place, this Jesuit had shewn no inclination for this opinion, but because he believ'd it the opinion of *Saint Thomas*. Let us see, what he says pag. 15. "*Saint Thomas* sayd
 "he, 2. 2. q. 44. a. 6. seems to answer not,
 "and to content himself, for avoiding damna-
 "tion, that we shou'd not otherwise do any
 "thing against sacred love. *Wendrok*, answer'd
Timantes, has fully shewn, how much *Sirmond*

was

was mistaken in attributing this doctrine to Saint Thomas.

It is very hard, replied the Abbot, for any man to argue more in the air, to shoot at random, or wider from the mark, than *Wendrok* has done about this article, in his long dissertation. Whoever rightly understands the state of the question, and the Divines doctrine, which I have endeavor'd to explicate and unfold upon the command of charity, will see, that almost all *Wendrok* quotes out of Saint Thomas against Father *Sirmond*, may, by this Divine be admitted, without any danger, and do's not at all prove, that Saint Thomas's thoughts were any way different from his. But this is not the question now in debate, whether this author be, or be not mistaken, concerning the opinion of this holy Doctor, or whether *Wendrok* has reason'd well, or ill upon the point: it may be always, truly, sayd, that Saint Thomas's opinion, well or ill understood, was Father *Sirmond's* rule: and it is also most certain, that Saint Thomas's way of expressing himself, gave him the occasion of thinking as he did. Let us see, sayd *Cleander*, in Saint Thomas the passage, by which he supports himself; we shall easily judge by that, whether his mistake be excusable, or not.

The place cited by *Sirmond*, was immediatly open'd; the Angelical Doctor there puts the question; "Whether a man in this life can
"fulfil the precept of the love of God; and
among other difficulties which he raises in this

2. 2. q.
44. a. 6.

matter, he makes this objection; "Whoever
 "do's not fulfil a precept, sins mortally; if
 then in this life no man can fulfil this precept,
 no body can be without mortal sin. After he
 had explain'd in what sense a man might, and
 in what sense he might not, in this life, fulfil
 this precept, he thus answers the objection:
 "It must be sayd, that as a Soldier, is not to
 "be blam'd for not getting the victory, pro-
 "vided he fights valiantly, in like manner he,
 "who in this life do's not fulfil this precept,
 "do's not sin mortally, provided he do's no-
 "thing against Divine love. *Ita etiam qui in via*
hoc præceptum non implet, nihil contra divinam
dilectionem agens, non peccat mortaliter. This pas-
 sage, sayd Cleander, might have deceiv'd any
 other, as well as Father Sirmond, supposing
 he be deceiv'd.

After all, answer'd the Abbot, I believe he
 did not rightly understand Saint Thomas in this
 place: but the manner alone, wherein this good
 Father concludes the question, wou'd deserve
 his pardon, altho he shou'd have been the first
 author of this opinion; which before him, so
 many others held. See how he ends this article.

Page. 29.

"It is our duty, not to abuse his fatherly
 "goodness, but to act as much and as soon as
 "possible by a principle of love, of disinter-
 "ested love, of filial and of cordial love: for
 "this is to be carefully heeded, that, altho God,
 "of his great goodness may save us, by the
 "paternal conduct of fear alone, by which he
 "disposes us, to receive the effect of the Sacra-
 "ments,

“ments, nevertheless, as this way is the least
 “pleasing to him, so is it also, neither frequent,
 “nor lasting, and we are easily turn’d from
 “it God has sayd, *He, who has my Com-*
 “*mandments and keeps them, is he that loveth me.*
 “He loves me by his works; to this he is in
 “rigor oblig’d by my law: but also, adds he,
 “he who do’s not love me, do’s not keep my
 “sayings; no truly he do’s not keep them
 “long: for which reason, the great Saint *Antony*
 “sayd, there was no sure defence against the
 “attacks of the Devil, but the love of Jesus
 “Christ; all others, are transitory and uncon-
 “stant. Is to speak in this manner, added the
 Abbot, the way to ruin and destroy the love
 of God in the hearts of Christians?

As for my own part, sayd *Eudoxus*, I am
 mercifully inclin’d, and clearly of opinion, that
 if there shou’d, ever be a new edition of *Wen-*
drok, the title of his third note, ought to be
 chang’d, *Antonij Sirmondi adversus hoc praeceptum*
intolerandi errores proponuntur. It is enuff to call
 it a mistake, a vain Theological refinement,
 and as Mr. Abbot was willing to term it, a
 false subtilty, impertinently inserted in a spiri-
 tual treatise. *Sirmond*, without it, might very
 well have maintain’d, as he has done, the do-
 ctrin of the Council of *Trent*, against those
 who had the confidence to teach, that every
 action, which has not the pure love of God
 for the motive, is a sin.

I will not go back, answer’d the Abbot, from
 what I sayd, to make you hope, I might capi-

tulate, after I had for some time defended my self; I think I have done this well enuff, and I am ready yet to add, even somewhat more, provided *Timantes* wou'd, on his side, use the same kind of freedom. We must see, sayd *Timantes*, what new propositions you have to make, to induce me to this capitulation.

I will own, continu'd the Abbot, that *Sirmond's* distinction of *The Commandment of rigor*, for the love effective, and *The Commandment of sweetness*, for love affective, is a little chimerical. Who speaks in this matter of a command, speaks of a thing oppos'd to counsel, or advice, and by consequence, of a command of rigor. I will also say, that this doctrine, separated from the text, where it is very much soften'd, has in it self something very hard, and fit to be rejected, and that the pretended authority of *Saint Thomas*, or of *Cajetan*, *Jansenius* of *Gant*, or others, ought not to make it current.

This is something, sayd *Timantes*, but what wou'd you have me grant you in exchange? I only ask, answer'd the Abbot, that the Divines of the Society, of whom you have heard me cite a great number of the most considerable, having all thought, and spoken quite differently from *Father Antony Sirmond*, you wou'd not, for the future, say *The Jesuits teach, that the love of God is not necessary to Salvation*: nor call that, the doctrine of the Society.

This is, answer'd *Timantes*, a large article, and of great importance, which I cannot grant, without

without first consulting with the Gentlemen, who speak so every day; and whom I value too much, not to continue to talk as they do.

Since you will not then, replied the Abbot, conclude any thing, without these Gentlemen's consent; it is fit, when you consult them upon this point, to tell them, that a world of men are scandaliz'd at the doctrine, and falsifications of *Pascal* in his tenth Letter; where pretending to attack the doctrine of the Jesuits, or rather of the most celebrated Divines upon Attrition, he do's, not only, propound it, in such a manner, as that it is not to be known by these Fathers, but that it is also easily perceivable, that under this pretext, he would fain run down some points, decided by the Council; that this proposition *Attrition with the Sacrament is sufficient*, and this, *The act of the love of God is not necessary to Salvation*, have no relation to one another, as he would have it to be understood: that the Jesuits, defending the first, after an infinit number of Divines as conformable to the doctrine of the Council of *Trent*, do, at the same time, fight against the second; that the one ought not, nor cannot be drawn into consequence, for the other; not even in any particular case, which some may think ought to be excepted, out of the general thesis; that they will shew them reason, and very good reason, when they desire it, for the diversity of the Divines systems, touching the time, wherein a man is oblig'd to make an interior, formal act of the love of

Y 4

God;

God; but on condition, these Gentlemen will, also, propose their hypothesis, and opinion upon this matter; to the end it may be examin'd by the rules and principles of true and solid Divinity

You are there cutting out a great deal of work for *Timantes*, sayd *Eudoxus* interrupting him; let us I pray you leave all these particulars, and speak of an accommodation, but of an intire, universal accommodation. I have a proposition to make, which, at first, will be surprizing to you; but you shall hear the conditions. It is to unite us four in the same party, and the same interests. Mr. Abbot has been hitherto devoted to the Jesuits; you *Timantes*, to the Jansenists; *Cleander* and I have always kept a kind of neutrality; it is not fit to see, such friends as we are, thus divided; to what ever side we turn, we shall be well receiv'd; the Jesuits wou'd esteem themselves happy in a friend, and a defender, so zealous, so quick, and so resolute as *Timantes*: and if Mr. Abbot wou'd become a Jansenist, his conversion wou'd, no doubt, make the party great gainers.

What you propose, is a matter of consequence, sayd *Timantes*, interrupting him; let us hear what are the conditions. The conditions, answer'd *Eudoxus*, have nothing in them, but what is just and reasonable; you that are so equitable, will accept them without boggling; and I am also confident, that neither Mr. Abbot, nor *Cleander* will reject them. It is not,

to make a discussion of the justice, or injustice of both partys, nor to enter into the particulars of all the points of doctrine disputed between them. Let us lay aside all prejudices, by which each party endeavors to gain an advantage over the other, and only mind one thing, to wit, the advantage of sincerity and fidelity.

This I agree to, very willingly, sayd *Timantes*; you know I pretend to those vertues more than any man living; and you take me on my blind or weak side; but this point is of large extent, and the Jesuits will have need of a great many apologies, before I can be drawn to 'um by this way. I intend, replied *Eudoxus*, to reduce the matter to one single point, wherein you are fully instructed, and which you need but just run over agen. To what point demanded *Timantes*?

To the very Provincial Letters, answer'd *Eudoxus*; do but only justify the fidelity and sincerity of your Gentlemen in the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh Letters, of which we have already begun to have some doubts and suspicions, and *Cleander* and I are yours.

This is a small thing, a very easy business, sayd *Timantes*, but I wou'd be glad that Mr. Abbot wou'd, also sign the treaty on these terms. I do engage to make my self a party to it, answer'd the Abbot; but be sure you keep your word upon the penalty of valuing your self hereafter, as much upon the name of an Anti-Jansenist, as now you do upon that of a Jansenist.

I ac-

I accept the condition, replied *Timantes*, so certain am I not to hazard much by the bargain. More than you are aware of, sayd *Cleander*; have you ever confronted, or compar'd *Pasual's* citations, with the texts of the Society's Divines? I have not, answer'd he, but we will immediatly do it if you please. The most unnecessary and unprofitable labor, will be always agreeable, when I undergo it for your sakes. It is too late to begin it to day, replied *Cleander*, do it at your leisure, but be sure you do it exactly, and when you think fit give us an account.

It is fit, sayd the Abbot, that we shou'd make this peece of drudgery as easy to you as is possible, considering that to a person of your brisk, lively humor, such a task shou'd not be a very pleasant pastime. I will therefore quit you for four or five points: of which the first shall be, to shew, in the assertions, or principles of one single Jesuit, the whole, or the least part of what is attributed to all the body in the fourth Letter, concerning the sins of libertins, or harden'd and impious men. The second, to make good the accusation against them in the fifth Letter, of their permitting Idolatry to the new Christians in *China*, and of their having, for that end, put in practice, the direction of intention, and teaching their Converts, that they may outwardly adore Idols, provided they do but inwardly direct their adorations to a Crucifix, hid under their garments; and that also which is added, that these

these Fathers do not expose in that country in the assemblies of their new Converts, the Crucifix, but only discourse to 'um of the glorious Mysteries of our Savior, without saying any thing of a suffering Jesus.

The third, is, to justify *Pascal's* honesty and fidelity in reference to *Filiutius's* passage, touching fasts. The fourth, is, to shew, in *Valentia*, the passage quoted by *Pascal* concerning simony. If a temporal good be given for a spiritual, that is to say, money for a benefice, and that the money be given as the price of the benefice, it is plain simony. But if it be given as a motive to induce the beneficed person to resign, *NON TANQUAM PRETIUM BENEFICII, SED TANQUAM MOTIVUM AD RESIGNANDUM*, it is no simony. The fifth, is, to tell us, what right he had to cut away from, or dismember the text of *Baani*, touching the obligation a Priest is under, of saying the Masses he has agreed for, with him who gives the retribution. This text, whole and intire, seeming to have nothing in it, but what all men may, and ought to allow, nor any thing contrary to that, which *Pascal* do's oppose. If you give me but a good account of these five points only, continu'd the Abbot, I shall be wholly yours, and pursuant to *Eudoxus's* proposal, change my side. That shall not hinder, answer'd *Timantes* confidently.

If you fail in your undertaking, added the Abbot, I will not, however, oblige you, to change your party, at least till I have convinc'd

vinc'd you of some other things: which if I do not do, I will own my self vanquish'd and submit. 1. If I do not clearly shew you, that the doctrin of probability, is not an invention of the Jesuits; that it is not peculiar to them; and that they do not teach it, but with a croud of Doctors of all Schooles, all Orders, and all Nations; that they do not teach it, in the manner *Pascal* pretends; and that what he says of it in his Letters, is full of falsifications and impostures.

2. If I do not justify the Jesuits touching the Idolatry of *China*, by authentic peeces, and records, by most full and positive testimonies, such as will make you admire the boldness and impudence of the Societys enemies. 3. If I take not from you, all doubts and scruples, concerning the innocence and purity of *Valentia's* doctrin of simony, and that of *Vasquez* about Alms.

You speak, sayd *Timantes*, interrupting him, and very much astonish'd, with great confidence and assurance. Do's not *Pascal*, in his former Letters, set down the very articles, pages and numbers, of the Jesuit authors he quotes? do's he not put all his extracts out of them into *Italic* letters? he do's so, answer'd the Abbot, both in his former and in his latter Letters; and this draws the belief of all those, who do not examin the texts and compare them with his quotations, and the indignation, of all those, who do give themselves that trouble.

What, sayd *Timantes*, *Pascal* the honestest man

man of his time, to falsify, impose, and calum-
niate? you are certainly in jest, this is not
possible: nor cou'd any thing be more un-
likely, according to the character I have had
of him from good and able men of his ac-
quaintance.

Let him be as honest a man as you will,
answer'd the Abbot, what I say are matters of
fact; which I undertake to prove; and when
I have done it, choose whether you will pre-
serve for him the quality of an honest man, or
give that of cheats, impostors, falsifiers and
calumniators, to those, who furnish'd him
with memorials and extracts against the Jesuits.
Make this division how you think fit, it is
very indifferent to me.

Do you know, sayd *Cleander*, that what Mr.
Abbot promises you to do, he has already
done for us; and what he has affirm'd, we
have seen, with our own eyes, in the authors
themselves, having actually confronted and
compar'd the Provincial Letters, page by page,
with the texts, cited just as they follow in or-
der, without any choice; and that, except one
or two inconsiderable points, which *Pascal* had
reason to find fault with, these Letters are one
continued series, or complication of falsities
and impostures; which prepossesses a man
with a terrible prejudice against the other
articles, concerning the greatest part whereof,
he has offer'd to undeceive us when ever we
please?

The Jesuits, answer'd the Abbot, are so little of the opinions ascrib'd to them by *Pascal*, that they wou'd, without hesitating, subscribe to the condemnation of most of the propositions he contends against, taken in the sense he gives them. But that, which is wonderful, and a new calumny of their enemies is, that these propositions, for the greater part, as *Pascal* has fram'd 'um, the better to refute 'um, having been most justly condemn'd at *Rome*, it was every where reported, that it was the Societys doctrin, which was there condemn'd. The Jesuits in *France*, have suffer'd all this to be sayd, and indeed, they have done well, not to trouble themselves much about the matter. But the Flemish Fathers had not so much patience. For, they have fully demonstrated, that hardly any one of the condemn'd propositions, had been taught by the Jesuits; and if any one of them be found, in one or two Divines of the Society, they were neither the first, nor the only persons that taught them; but that there had been always, some non-Jesuit Divines, especially among the *Thomists*, who lead the van: and that for one Jesuit, who fell in with those opinions, the main part, or body of the Divines of the Society, were of a contrary opinion.

These are very strange things, which you advance, sayd *Timantes* interrupting him; and I am apt to believe, that what you say of *Pascals* being furnish'd with false memoirs, might have happen'd to your self; and that the Jesuits,
impos'd

impos'd upon you, and perswaded you they were true: but be it as it will, since you pretend to have been already fully inform'd in this matter; it is not my business any longer to make head against, or oppose you, at least, till I have satisfied my self, and taken the same pains, that you have done. Let us therefore, for the present take our leave of this subject, and talk of other things.

And thus ended the discourse upon this matter, whereof *Eudoxus* and *Cleander* did not expect so moderate a conclusion from their Jansenist: whom the Abbot's flegme and staid temper, had, all along, kept within certain bounds, which, on such like occasions, had been very usual for him to transgress.

OF

OF THE DISTINCTION

O F

Probable in Practice,

A N D

Probable in Speculation.

THIS distinction, which some Divines have made use of in their decisions, has, from time to time, very much incommoded *Pascal*: It has made many of his rail-lerys, which he believ'd the most witty, become false and insipid and his most vehement invectives appear altogether impertinent, and not at all to the purpose; and I am perswaded, this was one of the distinctions he was most afraid of.

Lect. 13.

My business now, is, to discover the sense of this distinction, whether it be solid, useful, or even necessary in Morals; or whether it be only an artifice, by which the Jesuits have serv'd themselves To ruin Religion, without sensibly wounding the state: this is *Pascals* own expression.

It is certain, there always was a great deal of difference, between the practice and speculation,
in

in an infinit number of subjects, especially in matters of Morals. But not to dwell upon a common place, let us examin, whether this distinction, may be admitted, even in the instance, wherein *Pascal* condemns and raillys it: it is upon the chapter of murder and other violent acts, whereof he has spoken in his seventh and thirteenth Letters.

As all this writers artifice and cunning consists, in confounding things, so the Jesuits whole justification upon this point, ought to consist, in a plain unfolding and explication of the matter; in order to this, I will first presuppose some propositions, the truth of which none can deny.

1. When it is ask'd, whether, on some occasions, it be lawful to kill, or strike, it is, always, without prejudice to the Evangelical Counsel; where our Savior bid us *Not to resist a wicked man, that treats us ill: to turn our left cheek to him that has smote us on the right; and to let him have our cloak, that wou'd by violence take away our coat.* There is not a Casuist, who do's not agree, that this conduct, in a Christian, is infinitely to be prais'd, and perfectly heroical.

2. But as it wou'd be impious, to think otherwise, so it wou'd be extravagant for a Divine or a Canonist, to regulat, by these Counsels of Perfection, the strict obligations of a Christian in this matter; and to condemn him to hell, because he wou'd go to law with a man, that took away his goods unjustly; or because he wou'd defend himself against a man,

that shou'd draw his sword to kill him, or lift up his hand to hit him a box on the ear, or to cudgel him. The question here, is, not what is most perfect, but only what is lawful; nor that which is counsell'd, but that which is not forbidden. I made this supposition, at first, to shew, what pitiful antitheses, or oppositions *Pascal* has made, from time to time on this occasion, between these Evangelical Counsels, and the doctrin which he attributes to the Jesuits.

3. Althô that life, honor, mony, and other temporal goods, are infinitely less valuable, than spiritual and eternal riches, they are yet however goods, and goods which men have a right to keep and defend, against those, who wou'd take them away unjustly: that this right is founded upon the law of nature, and the right of Nations, authoris'd by the Divine, written Law: that to pretend the contrary, as some heretics do, wou'd be to over-turn the order establish'd by God, and to give wicked men occasion of offering violences, and insulting over good men. It is upon this ground, that all Divines agree with Saint *Thomas* in this general maxim: *Secundùm jura licet vim vi repellere, cum moderamine inculcata tutela.* That a man is allow'd, by all kinds of law, to push back, or return violence for violence, provided he contains himself within, the bounds of a just and moderat defence. But all the difficulty is, to define, or determin, what these bounds are; and the difficulty is by so much the greater, as by how much we are naturally inclin'd and dispos'd

dispos'd by our passions and self-love to extend and transgress them.

4. All hereupon do further agree in the following propositions: that a man ought not to do himself right, when the wrong done, or intended may be prevented or repair'd, by a superior power: that to avoid death, at least we may take away his life, that attacks us, with a full design to take away ours: that the person assaulted, if he cannot otherwise defend himself, has a right, at least, in some circumstances, to do the aggressor a greater mischief, than what he apprehends from him: so altho' money and all household-stuff, are much less valuable than life, yet notwithstanding, Saint Thomas and the Canon Law, founded upon the 22th. chapter of *Exodus*, teach, that it is lawful for a privat man, to kill a robber, if he finds him forcing open the door, or breaking into his house in the night; and the same law adds, that one might kill him by day, if he offers to defend himself with weapons.

Cap. 2.
de homici.
cap. 3.

All this being suppos'd, certain, there arise, upon this subject, a thousand difficulties, of great importance, to be resolv'd, by the Canonists and Divines: whereof this, which has a relation to the present question, is one: it is a case decided by the Jesuit *Reginaldus*, wherein he makes use of the distinction *Of Probable in Speculation, and Probable in Practice*, mention'd by *Pascal*, in his seventh Letter. I have chosen this example, because, it is very proper to make the business in hand be easily understood:

In praxi.
libr. 2.
nu. 63.

and that, afterwards it will be easy to apply, what I shall say upon this subject, to other cases of this nature, reported by *Pascal*, in his seventh and thirteenth Letters: where the falsifications are horrible, especially in the citations of the passages in *Reginaldus* and *Lessius*.

Reginaldus, after he had explain'd the circumstances wherein it is lawful to take away the life of an unjust aggressor, adds this which follows. "It is to be observ'd, that, in this respect, it is very indifferent, after what manner an unjust aggressor undertakes to destroy a man he resolves to kill: whether he makes use of arms, poyson, or false evidence; or, whether he do's it, by himself, or by another. For what signify's it, by what means he endeavors to make me perish, when once it is suppos'd, that the way he takes will have it's effect. From this principle, *Reginaldus* draws many conclusions; the last of which *Pascal* proposes for an example of the Jesuits cursed doctrine, concerning murder. Here you may see it, not as reported by *Pascal*, but as it is in the author himself.

"Infine, says *Reginaldus*, if I meet you, when you are going to bear a false testimony against me, which is sure to occasion my death, so as 'tis impossible to be avoided, and that I have no other way to escape, *Nec alia est ratio effugij*, it is lawful for me to take away your life, as from a man that is going to take away mine: for what matter is it, whether you do it, by your sword, or by the hands of the hangman? The

The circumstances of the case carefully to be regarded are, 1. That this adversary is actually going to execute his wicked design against me: *Si eas ad ferendum contra me falsum testimonium.* 2. That this design will be effectual, and it's execution morally certain; *Ex quo accepturus sim mortis sententiam.* 3. That I have no other means to avoid it. *Nec alia est ratio effugij*, that is to say, that I can have no access to the judge, to make my innocence appear; that I can neither hide my self, nor run away. Without speaking of a fourth condition, which *Reginaldus* has put down in the beginning, to wit, that I ought to be sure of my enemy's ill design; and that how strong soever the proofs may be, so long as there is room to doubt, it is not lawful for me to make use of such a precaution. *Notandum est primò mihi non licere quidem, quandiu res dubia est, occidere eum à quo mortem injustam mihi parari suspicor; etiamsi vehementia sint indicia, quòd ita res habeat.*

But yet this is not all: not content with these precautions, he adds, that, as to this case and some others of the same kind, a man must take notice of the advice he gives in another place, in relation to practice, to wit, in number 63. *Quoad hoc autem, & alia hujusmodi, in praxi habenda est ratio cautela proponenda in sequenti numero 63. versiculo, CÆTERUM.* And there he declares, this conclusion to be of the number of those, which, as probable as they seem in speculation, are not to be follow'd in practice; because of the many inconveniences

morally inevitable which attend it; *Quamvis in speculatione pars affirmans non careat omni probabilitate, in praxi tamen non est sequenda.* Let us now examin the distinction of probable in speculation, and of probable in practice, with reference to this case. The example will, as I have sayd, make the thing very easy and intelligible.

Reginaldus's answer in the case propounded, is probable in speculation: for what reason? because it is founded upon a principle of the law of nature, wherein all the world agrees, that it is lawful for me, to avoid death at the expence of his life, that wou'd infallibly take away mine. Moreover this answer, is a consequence drawn by analogy with this other decision, of the truth of which, no body makes any doubt; I see a man watching and just going to kill me; I have therefore right on my side to prevent and kill him if I can.

It cannot be deny'd, but that *Reginaldus's* conclusion, considering things in themselves and in general, is rightly infer'd from this principle, and that with probability enuff, and that it also has an analogy with the other case; which is sufficiently plain, and admits of no difficulty: for as he sayd before, 'tis altogether indifferent, whether I loose my life by poyson, or by steel: whether my enemy kills me with his own, or the common executioners sword. This is what the Divines call a proposition probable in speculation; that is to say, with reference to general principles, from whence it is drawn; in the doing whereof, they consider nothing but only

only the principles, and the connexion the proposition has with those principles, without regard to any thing else.

But as probable as it is in speculation, it is not probable in practice, sayd *Reginaldus*; and it ought not to be follow'd *In praxi tamen non est sequenda*. For what reason? because the practice wou'd be subject to great abuses; give occasions of many murders; and also because that this thing, of defending ones self, as much founded as it appears to be upon the right of nature, is morally inseparable from hatred and revenge, &c. These are the reasons of his assertion in number 63. and by which it may easily be comprehended, how a proposition how probable soever it may be in speculation, may not yet be always probable in practice. *Reginaldus's* proposition follows from a principle, receiv'd by all the world, but yet it wou'd have very great inconveniences in practice.

I now therefore ask, whether these two propositions be not true? the first; that this answer is probable in speculation; the second, that, it is not probable in practice? nay are they not even evident? and supposing them true and evident, is there any scandal, or any danger, in advancing, or explaining them in a book of Divinity? cou'd *Reginaldus* have decided the matter in a more severe manner than by saying; *In praxi non est sequenda*, this proposition is not to be follow'd in practice?

The love of life alone, and the heat of passion, in a man, who sees himself upon the

point of dying with infamy by the malice of his enemy, will make the right, which, he believes, he has of killing him, appear, not only probable, but also evident; and that without ever having read the arguments, or reflexions of Divines upon the subject: he will not spend time to weigh, or consider this principle, but prevent his man if it be possible. Who shall stop him then, in case he may be stop'd, but his Confessor, or some friend directed by the doctrine of *Reginaldus*?

The thing being thus unfolded, or explain'd, (which was needless but for such as have not the least tincture of Divinity) have not the Jesuits a right to demand justice from the Public against *Pascal* for the insolent turn or application, which he has made to them, of part of his discourse, on occasion of this distinction in his thirteenth Letter?

"See, sayd he, in what manner your opinions begin to appear under this distinction, by means whereof you do but ruin Religion, without wounding, yet sensibly the state; whereby you believe your selves secur'd; for you imagin, the credit you have in the Church, will hinder your being punish'd for your attempts against truth; and that the precautions you set down to prevent these permissions from being easily practis'd, will secure you against the Magistrats; who not being Judges of cases of Conscience, have properly no concern but for the exterior practice. Thus an opinion condemn'd under the name
" of

“of practice, is made good under the name of
 “speculation: but this basis, or ground being
 “once establish’d, it is not difficult, to raise
 “or build upon it the rest of your maxims.

Can there be any thing seen more flat or dull, and, at the same time, more roguish, or more wicked than this discourse? but it was the same spirit that maintain’d in the thirteenth Letter the calumnies at first advanc’d in the seventh: and which will clearly appear such, by only comparing *Pascal’s* citations with the texts of the several Jesuit authors by him quoted. I shall content my self to instance in that which I have newly made use of, to explain the distinction of probable in speculation, and probable in practice: these are the words of his seventh Letter.

“According to our learned *Reginaldus* in his
 “21 book, chap. 5. num. 57. *We may also*
 “*kill the false witnesses, which a calumniator has*
 “*rais’d up against us.* If that be *Reginaldus’s*
 proposition, it is very horrible; supposing this proposition true, as general and as little restrain’d as it is, there is no calumniator, or false witness, nor any man that cooperat’s to the death of an innocent person, that may not in conscience be kill’d; and it is not to be doubted, but that it deserves to be anathematiz’d. But first, hold a little; is this *Reginaldus’s* proposition? where are the circumstances, so wisely and so expressly set down by this Divine, of a pressing danger, of a certain and inevitable death, without any manner of means either of
 hiding

hiding or escaping? circumstances, which appear'd sufficient to other non-Jesuit Divines, even in practice, to make a man, in this occasion, find the defence just and lawful. In one word, he has made *Reginaldus* to say absolutely and in general, *That the false witnesses rais'd against us may be lawfully kill'd.* And yet notwithstanding the result, or conclusion of his whole doctrine is, as we have seen, that one can neither kill, nor counsel the killing of them, even in the most pressing circumstances. Was there ever any calumny so horrid, and so extravagant as this?

Can a Divine, that concludes, after a serious weighing and examining all the difficulties of the question (and it is not to be denied but that there are considerable difficulties on both sides) can a Divine, I say, who concludes, as *Reginaldus* has done, be suspected to flatter or indulge our passions, and authorise revenge? and wou'd not any other, than a Jesuit, have appear'd to *Pascal* to have determin'd this matter in the most severe manner that was possible? must not a Jesuit Divine dare to propose the difficulties on one side, as well as on the other; nor shew, that he perceives what they are? and shall he be condemn'd of loose Morals, for following, even the strictest opinion, because he follows it with some doubt? what, may not a Casuist arguing upon this matter say? *If we proceed by general principles; if we argue by analogy to such and such other cases; if we stick only to speculation, and the consideration of the nature of things,*
this

this opinion is probable: but if we regard the inconveniences, which are almost inevitable in the practice; if we mind a man's ordinary temper and disposition in such a rencounter, it is not probable, and by consequence ought not to be follow'd in practice. Must not a Casuist express himself in this manner, altho the subject obliges him to do it in a thousand instances? can he not do it without being accus'd to allow that, which he says expressly ought neither to be done nor permitted?

The object of this science is practice; and all conclusions which are not practical but purely speculative, are not properly moral conclusions; they are no decisions; they are without consequence in reference to actions, because they are not the rules of our manners. It is not therefore their decisions wherewith *Reginaldus* and *Lessius* are reproach'd in the seventh and thirteenth Letters; not only because their texts are there falsified, but also because the proposition, which properly contain their decisions, are directly contrary to that which is attributed to them.

It is however fit not to leave unanswer'd the objection *Pascal* makes the Jesuits upon this subject; taken from a passage in *Escobar* touching the distinction of probable in speculation, and of probable in practice. *Escobar*, say they, in the first of his six tomes of *Moral Divinity* in the Preface n. 15. teaches, that every probable opinion in speculation is also probable in practice. What a great misfortune it is, that

LET. 12.

Escobar

Escobar shou'd not be of the same opinion with others? but it is not one of the secrets of the Society, to make one of their Divines first say, that an opinion is probable in speculation, and not probable in practice, and afterwards to make another advance, that every opinion probable in speculation, is also probable in practice; to the end, that people shou'd accustom themselves to follow their caprice and their passions, and so by degrees widen and enlarge their Consciences for the committal of the greatest crimes?

No doubt but *Reginaldus* writ to *Escobar* from *Lyons* to *Madrid*, to concert with him this pleasant artifice: or, that their General himself took care to make this division of doctrine with so commendable and holy prospects. Oh the prodigious cunning of that thought! by which we are almost return'd to that wonderful secret, discover'd by *Pascal* in his fifth Letter, of the agreement of the Directors and Jesuit Divines with their Superiors, to make some of them strict and severe, others loose and accommodating Doctors and Directors: but as ill luck wou'd have it, *Escobar* agrees with the rest, even in this point, and if there be any difference, or dispute between them, it is but a dispute of words.

First, in his *Examen Confessariorum*, stil'd in the Provincial Letters, *The four and twenty old men's collection*, he thinks and speaks upon this subject after the usual manner as *Pascal* himself confesses; and as for his book of Moral Divinity,

nity, where he says, that what is lawful in speculation, is lawful also in practice, if *Pascal* had read on a few pages beyond that cited he would have perfectly understood this Casuists meaning; which is very good, and which has, in reality, nothing in it contrary to what he had sayd elsewhere, nor to what is sayd by others. His words are these.

"If after having foreseen the inconveniences
 "arising from practice, I yet probably judge,
 "that this practice is lawful, I may accordingly
 "make use on't. But yet nevertheless I do
 "acknowledge every thing which is lawful, is
 "not always expedient, because of outward
 "circumstances. And moreover, if the Prince,
 "or supreme Tribunal, shou'd forbid it by
 "their declarations or decrees, then the opi-
 "nion, contrary to these orders, would cease
 "to be probable: for example, there were
 "some opinions of *Angelus*, *Armilla*, and *Syl-*
 "*vester*, which were probable before the Coun-
 "cel of *Trent*; and yet notwithstanding since
 "the Council, it is no longer lawful to follow
 "them in practice: and therefore for my part;
 "from the time it is sayd, that an opinion is
 "not probable in practice, I hold that neither
 "it is probable in speculation; because that
 "the inconveniences which are found in the
 "practice, do demonstrate it's falsity.

What can all this mean, but that *Escobar* would not have an opinion call'd probable in speculation, when, tho' never so well grounded upon certain general principles; admitted
 by

Lib. 2.
 theol.
 mor.
 prob. 3.

by all the world, the inconveniences, which are found in practice, do hinder it from being possible to be held probable in practice: whereas other Divines wou'd have it, that the inconveniences, which hinder it from being probable in practice, do not hinder, but that it may be sayd to be probable in speculation, so that it appear conformable to the general principles, from whence it is drawn in a probable manner. But all do agree, as well as *Escobar*; that because of these inconveniences, it ought not in practice to be the rule of our actions.

To do a pleasure therefore to *Escobar*, I will forbear calling such an opinion probable in speculation; and yet to accommodate my self with others, I wou'd very willingly call it so. I shou'd not by that wrong any body, and my condescendance wou'd be altogether without consequence as to our manners: and so also wou'd be, all the other Divines different ways of expressing themselves. According to this notion of *Escobar*, which has nothing in it but what's very reasonable, I will say, *That one may safely follow in practice the opinions which are probable in speculation*; because I shall be ascertain'd before I call them probable in speculation, that they are probable in practice, and according to the notion of others, I will say, *That it is not lawful to follow in practice all the opinions which are probable in speculation*; because the quality of probable in speculation do's not include all that's necessary to make it

it probable in practice; and I will before all Divines defy *Pascal*, with all his vain and sophistical declamations, to gain-say, or find fault with this point of my doctrine.

Now to make an end, and give a short and precise account of all I have sayd, see to what it is reduc'd, according to *Reginaldus* and according to others, to whom they have done the same injustice. See, I say, to what all the mystery of the distinction of probable in speculation, and of probable in practice is reduc'd. The end of this distinction is, first to shew, that in matter of Morals, it is not enuff to argue by certain general principles, whose consequences, how well soever drawn, may sometimes have very sad sequels if by them alone, we shou'd govern our actions. And in the second place, that there are many things, which consider'd in themselves, and with reference to general rules, do not appear to be sins, but yet for all that, it is morally impossible to practise them without sin; because, that the corruption of the heart of man, the violence of the passions, which the objects do excite, and the vehement impression which the presence of good or evil makes, do seldom leave the mind in such an even situation and tranquillity, as is sufficient to hinder the transgression of those bounds, which reason and the laws of God do prescribe. Is then to say, that a thing is probable in speculation, and not probable in practice; that it is prohibited to be done, that

that it ought not to be advis'd, nor it's practice permitted, to invent an artifice to ruin Religion, and the Gospel, by only managing the state so, as not to wound it openly?

But the conduct alone of *Pascal* and his followers, so seeming zealous for strict, in opposition to loose Morals, sufficiently proves, that, generally speaking, there is a great deal of difference between speculation and practice. One equivocation, one mental reservation, as they affirm, in their books and in their conversations, are damnable sins; and yet in practice, the lyes, falsifications, and malicious turns, which they give to the doctrine and opinions of many Religious and Learned Persons, are the most innocent things in the world, and the most lawful, provided they do but fall upon the Jesuits, or some of their friends.

O F

O F T H E

Direction of Intention.

“**T**HIS wonderful principle, says *Pascal* Jesuit in his seventh Letter, is our “great method to divert the intention, “which is of such mighty importance in our “Morals, that, in some manner, I dare compare it to the doctrine of probability.

Let us now endeavor to penetrate into the bottom of this secret also, and discover it to the world better than *Pascal* has done. The whole doctrine of the direction of intention consists, in teaching, that in things that are of themselves indifferent; the intention, according as it is good or bad, makes an action either good or bad; that a good action ceases to be good, for want of a good intention, and that, generally speaking, the intention, is a thing of that consequence in Morals, that it makes, in a thousand instances, the only essential difference of our actions; or to express my self in the language of the School's, it is that, which forms, or constitutes every one of our actions in their several species or kinds.

I could, by following the Jansenists method, fill the text and margin of this small writing, with an infinity of passages out of the holy Fathers, concerning the Intention; but I will

In Plal.
31.

2. 2. q.
69. ar. 7.
in corp.

content my self with two words, taken from Saint *Austin* and Saint *Thomas*, which sufficiently express, all that is comprehended in the proposition I have now lay'd down. *Bonum opus Intentio facit*, it is the Intention which makes an action good, says the first. *Morales actus recipiunt speciem secundum id quod intenditur*: it is the Intention which makes the difference of actions says the second. It is in this sense also, that the Fathers understand the words of the Son of God in the Gospel:

Math. 6.

If your eye be clear, your whole body will be full of light. That is to say, if your intention be pure, what you act will not be a work of darkness: so that this principle of Divinity, has nothing in it, but what is highly orthodox and reasonable: it is very common and very necessary, and therefore to call it *wonderful* and make it a secret of the Jesuits policy, is the most absurd and the most ridiculous thing in the world.

But, perhaps the Jesuits abuse it in the usage, by a wrong, or an impertinent application of it to some matters. I do not intend here to refute, at large, all *Pascal's* calumnies upon this occasion. I will content my self, with singling out, or pointing at a few; and shewing in two words, that the Jesuits application of this principle to the several subjects, is neither impious, nor extravagant: particularly in the matter of simony, of usury and of violence; wherein they are reproach'd by the Provincial Letters, to have made use of the direction

direction of intention. *Valentia* says, that a man may, sometimes, give a temporal good for a spiritual: *Escobar* holds, that a man may expect some advantage for lending a sum of money: *Reginaldus* tells us, that we may sometimes pursue and beat a man that has insulted and affronted us; and all this without sin, provided, that the intention be well directed. And *Bauni* prescribes, even an express form reported in the eighth Letter, where the direction of intention is put into practice, to make a contract lawful.

Abstracting from *Pascal's* railleries, and the malicious turn he gives these things, which is not now the matter in question, is it never lawful to pursue, to beat, or to kill an unjust aggressor? it is sometimes, without doubt; and it is even always lawful, when a man contains himself within the bounds of a just and moderat defence, *Cum modesteamine inculpatæ tutela*. In continuing within these bounds, may not he, who defends himself, have a good, or an ill intention in beating him, by whom he is attack'd? may he not do it to be reveng'd, or may he not do it only to defend himself? it is certain, it may be done either of these two ways; and therefore the direction of intention may very well take place in this matter.

Is it never lawful to give a spiritual for a temporal good, or to make profit of one's money? without doubt nothing is more lawful: the Priests daily receive money for their

Masses, and men do hourly make contracts of partnership, and contracts for a yearly income; if I give a Priest money as a payment of his Mass, I am guilty of simony; but if my intention be to give it only out of a principle of pure gratitude, or for alms, or for some such motive, I am not guilty of simony.

I have given a man twenty thousand pounds, at five in the hundred, if at twenty years end he pays back my principal, he will find that for twenty which I gave him, I shall have receiv'd forty: with what conscience, and by what rule of equity, can I receive back as much more as I pay'd? if in giving out this money, I intended to purchase a right of receiving yearly a thousand pound out of an estate of land, for example, that was mortgag'd to me, I do nothing against justice; but if I had only an intention to employ my money, to get by it a great deal more than I gave, I become an Usurer: if in giving my money to a Merchant to be made use of in his trade, on condition that he will restore it with profit, for example, at five in the hundred, I become this way also an Usurer; but if I have a real intention to enter into partnership with him, my conscience is secure.

Since the intention then in matter of contracts, is always essential to make them valid, or lawful; and since when a man is to defend his life, his fortune or his honor, the intention, is one of the things that contributes to the making this defence just and lawful; why
shou'd

shou'd not the Jesuit Divines be allow'd, as well as others, to teach, that in these matters, if a man will not sin, he must take care to act with a good intention?

Valentia, in his treatise of simony, propounds the question just as *Saint Thomas* did, he handled the same cases, and resolv'd many of 'um, as *Saint Thomas* had done, by the direction of intention. Why shou'd the direction of intention be a most innocent thing in *Saint Thomas*, and yet in *Valentia* be a wicked thing, and a mystery of the Jesuits policy?

Bauni expounds the manner of making a contract by which men may lawfully make profit of their mony; and by doing of it otherwise they wou'd be guilty of Usury; what evil is there in this? now to speak truth, he do's in this example suppose the doctrine of *three contracts*; but he is neither the author, nor the only defender of it: it was maintain'd before him by abundance of very learned non-Jesuit Canonists and Divines; being also useful and so much practis'd as it is in commerce, and the direction of intention not being more forc'd, or strain'd in that, than in many other contracts, which are allow'd; why must it be a crime in him, to follow it, as long as neither the Church, nor the Ecclesiastic Superiors have thought fit to forbid it?

Escobar says, that it is Usury to exact any thing above the principal, on account of the

loan; but that to hope by lending money to a person that wants it, for example to buy a peece of land that lyes conveniently for him, one shou'd get his friendship by the pleasure he do's him, or some favor upon occasion, is not Usury even in thought; nor is it Usury in act, when afterwards, by putting him in mind of the pleasure he did him, he endeavors to excite his gratitude, that he may thereby obtain from him the service he stands in need of; what is there unjust, or unreasonable in this distinction? must a man pass for an Usurer for doing such an act of kindness for another, who he foresees is like to be within a little time, in a condition and credit to serve him? do men look upon the good offices they receive on such accounts as Usuries? and is there need of any thing but common sense to justify those who are here accus'd with so much malice, or so much ignorance?

In fine, when *Reginaldus* teaches, that it is probable in speculation, but very rarely probable in practice; that in some circumstances which he sets down, and of which *Pascal* says not one word, a man may, but yet in the instant only wherein he is offended, pursue the person from whom he receives the affront, he gives notice, that this must not be done, with an intention to do evil for evil, but only to do that, which is necessary and no more, to save his honor; is this restriction unuseful, or capable to empoysen his answer? can this

this decision with all the precautions which attend it, be more abus'd than the example of David may, who commands Salomon to rid himself of Joab and Shimei upon the first occasion that offers? without the direction of intention, what shou'd we think of this order of David?

No, neither Reginaldus nor the others have here advanc'd any thing new, touching this direction of intention. They have sayd, but with Innocent III, that all laws do allow men to repel force by force; not with an intention to revenge, but to defend themselves. *Vim vi repellere omnia jura, legesque permittunt, non ad vindictam sumendam, sed ad injuriam propulsandam.* They follow Saint Thomas, when they say, that we may sometimes repel injuries, in case we direct our intention to the good of the injurer, to repress his insolence, and to conserve our own honor and authority. *Illatas contumelias nonnunquam repellere homo potest propter bonum illius qui contumeliam infert, ad reprime-
dam illius audaciam, & ad tuendam suam digni-
tatem & auctoritatem.* Cap. sig-
nificasti.

2. 2. q.
73. art. 3.

What then have the Jesuit Divines done in this matter? they have taught, that a good intention, on these occasions, was so necessary, that, without it, men may be guilty of great sins; and what has Pascal done? he has turn'd the thing quite otherwise, in publishing, that the Jesuits made use of this direction of intention, to excuse the most horrible of sins. The Jesuits have advertis'd, that, in

the most just defence, a man must take care, not to suffer himself to be transported with passion, that he must have no other intention than that of defending himself: and *Pascal* by falsifying and dismembring the writings of the Jesuits, has given out, that they excuse the greatest crimes and violences, provided men have but a good intention in their committal.

The Jesuits have taught, that in giving a spiritual good for a temporal (and the business there is not of giving ready money for a benefice, but Prayers, Masses, Foundations and such other things) one must, on these occasions, have no intention of giving the temporal good, as the price of the spiritual; but that one must have another intention, which is, to engage the person out of gratitude, to Pray to God for him, to say Mass, &c. and *Pascal* upon this, Prints without ceremony, or any more ado, that *Valentia* and *Tanner* had succeeded admirably in justifying the traffic that is driven now a days for benefices.

After he had reported what Father *Bauni* had sayd, to exclude from a contract an Usurious intention, and had put into his Letter the good Fathers bad French, in such a manner as was most proper to make men laugh and ridicule it; he makes his Jesuit say, very insipidly: *Usury* consists, according to our Fathers, almost in nothing but the intention of taking this profit as Usurious; and it is for this reason, that our Father *Escobar* makes the sin of *Usury* to be avoided

avoided by a plain simple turn of the intention. And at the same time he reports, or rather cites the passage in *Escobar*, of which I have just now spoken, and quotes it for a ridiculous decision; altho it be impossible to decide it otherwise without madnels or extravagance. This then at last is the great All they can make the direction of intention amount to, with which the Society has been so much reproach'd. *This wonderful principle in the Jesuits Morals, the importance of which would make one almost, compare it to the Doctrin of probability.*

After all, we leave it to God to judge of *Pascal's* intention in his most unjust and cruel persecution of the Jesuits. It is not impossible, but that he might have had the same end and designs, and have been actuated with the same kind of spirit, wherewith the Abbot of Saint *Cyran*, the Saint and Oracle of the party, was at last found to have been inspir'd; who upon a time, confidently sayd to the Abbot of *Prières*; "That the Body of the
 "Jesuits, as being mischievous to the Church,
 "ought to be intirely ruin'd: to which he
 "further added, that it was God himself who
 "destroy'd the Church; that the time for it's
 "edification was past; that the Bishops, Ec-
 "clesiastics, and Religious Persons, of the
 "present age were, generally speaking, desti-
 "tute of the true spirit of Christianity, of the
 "spirit of Grace, and of the Church: that
 "all the Religious of his Order, had they
 "been

Informa-
 tion du
 procès de
 l'abbé
 de Saint
 Cyran.

“been true Sons of Saint *Bernard*, wou'd have
“spent their whole time in studying, how to
“ruin School Divinity: that Saint *Thomas*
“himself had quite spoil'd the right Science
“of Theology by human reasoning, &c. Oh
how Devout and Edifying is all this Learned
Discourse? and what can you, or any one
imagin, ought a man to judge of a Sect or
Party, whole Head or Founder thinks and
talks at such a rate? who yet notwithstanding,
if their own words may be rely'd on, is
not only to be valu'd and esteem'd, but also
to pass for a zealous Christian, and a perfect
Saint?

O.F

O F

Equivocations and Mental Reservations.

ONCE more, let us begin with *Pascal's* text in his ninth Letter, where the Jesuit makes this following discourse.

"I wou'd willingly now talk to you of the
 "easy methods we have found out, to avoid
 "the sins people are apt to fall into in conver-
 "sation, and in the intrigues and transactions
 "of the world. One of the most troublesome
 "things in these occasions, is, to avoid lying;
 "and especially when they wou'd have a thing
 "that is false believ'd to be true: for which
 "purpose, our doctrin of Equivocations is ad-
 "mirable: by which it is lawful, to make use
 "of ambiguous terms, to make them be un-
 "derstood in a different sense from the speaker's
 "own meaning, as *Sanchez, op. mor. p. 2. l. 3.*
 "*c. 6. n. 13.* I know that very well, Father,
 "sayd I; we have publish'd so much, continu'd
 "he, that, at last, all the world is sufficiently
 "instructed in the matter. But do you know,
 "what must be done when equivocal words are
 "not to be found? I do not, sayd I; I question'd
 "it very much, answer'd he, for the thing is
 "new: it is the doctrin of mental reservati-
 "ons, &c.

Oh

Oh how agreeable and diverting is all this ! there is really nothing wanting but truth to make it so. For if *Pascal* has not here made use of equivocations, or mental reservations, he has ly'd, at least, three or four times, as shall be soon perceiv'd. This matter is not a little curious, and there are very few people, that understand it, as it ought to be understood. I will collect and put together all the strongest and best arguments, on both sides, that have been made use of, upon this subject: for I will not in this matter adopt any opinion for my own. The author of the Provincial Letters is not the first, who has attack'd the Jesuits upon this article. *Malderus*, Bishop of *Antwerp*, cites and refutes a book writ by a Calvinist, and Printed in the year 1609. intitled *Articles de la Doctrine des Jesuites, & de quelques autres Docteurs du parti du Pape*; where this particular point is mention'd. But I do not intend to draw from thence any advantage for the Society. My design, is, to examin things in themselves without prejudice or prepossession; and only to make appear how difficult it is to make a right choice in this matter.

1. Altho equivocations and mental reservations are often confounded together, there is, notwithstanding, a great deal of difference between the one and the other. Every proposition that has more senses than one, is call'd *Equivocal*; and that also which the speaker foresees the hearer will take in a different sense or meaning from that which he gives it in his own

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mental.
c. 12.

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ticles of
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suits do-
ctrine and
of some
other
Doctors
of the
Popish
party.

own mind. Such was the answer of *Abraham*, when he told the *Egyptians* that *Sara* was his Sister; foreseeing that they wou'd take this word Sister in another signification, than that which he himself gave it. It is call'd a mental reservation, when a proposition, which, being literally taken, appears to be false, but being restrain'd by something that I retain in my mind it is found to be true. A man, for example, that is earnestly importun'd by another to lend him mony, tells him, *I have none*. This answer is false, but it wou'd become true, if it were joyn'd with the words, *to lend you*, which he did not add.

2. There is no manner of doubt, but that, in these equivocations and restrictions, there is something, which at first sight, appears opposit, or contrary to sincerity and simplicity, or single heartedness; which often seems to be very odd and unnatural; but after all, those, who are concern'd in this dispute, have a right to desire the reader to suspend his judgment for a few moments, till he has examin'd the reasons on both sides; let us therefore grant them this favor.

3. All Catholic Doctors unanimously agree, that it is never lawful to tell a ly; and that a ly, being an ill thing of it's own nature, no reason, no cause, nor any motive can possibly make it lawful.

4. This principle, once lay'd down and receiv'd of all as indubitable, has occasion'd many great difficulties in Divinity, as well in reference

reference to practice in some conjunctures, as on account of the exposition and meaning of several passages in holy Scripture. Men are oblig'd on several occasions to speak in a very particular manner, which manner of speaking seems hard to be reconcil'd, or made consistent with sincerity. As to the Scripture, when God, or the blessed Saints, or Angels do speak in it, it is not lawful to say, there is any thing of a ly; and when it only reports the words of some persons commended in it, and whom we are to esteem as great and eminent Servants of God, it is also very hard to find in their sayings any thing contrary to truth. Notwithstanding there are passages of both these kinds in Scripture, which have been very difficult and puzzling to Interpreters, and cost even the Holy Fathers, in all times, no small pains to explicate them aright.

5. These two sorts of difficulties, without which, in all appearance, none wou'd have ever thought of asking, whether the usage of equivocations and mental reservations be lawful, were the cause, that many Divines, Interpreters of the Scripture, Canonists of every School and every Country, have accounted them, even necessary, on several occasions: but yet nevertheless, straitening them within bounds much more narrow, than they commonly say, who, under this pretence, have undertaken to decry and run down their adversaries. For all the Doctors, who have handled this subject fully and at large, do
not

not fail to shew, and point out, it's abuses, and to give their readers great cautions to beware of them.

6. Since on one side these difficulties I speak of are the principal proofs of those, who are for this custom, and that on the other, the consequences, which it seems to draw after it, are the strongest arguments of those who are against it: my main business in this discourse shall be, to oppose the one to the other, and to consider and weigh them exactly, without dissembling, or concealing any thing, that may raise the value, or give the advantage to either side. In the next place, I will examin whether the Jesuit *Sanchez*, who is by name and most strongly attack'd upon this point be guilty; and whether his accuser has done him justice or injustice. Here follow the chief reasons of those, who absolutely condemn the usage of equivocations and mental reservations.

First, they say, they are palliated lyes, and the exposition alone, that is made of the nature of equivocal propositions, either in general, or in particular, in the examples brought, do shew, that they are but subtilties, invented on purpose, to perswade us, that men do not ly, when they speak most expressly against their thought.

In the second place, the design and effect of the one and the other, is to deceive and lead into error those we speak to.

In the third place, they tend to the destruction

tion of civil society and human conversation: for if he, that speaks to me, be perswaded, that equivocations and reservations are not lyes, how shall I know, that he do's not actually make use of them, even at the moment he seems to me to speak, with the greatest sincerity and simplicity imaginable?

In the fourth place, the passages in Scripture, and in the Fathers which inspire me with horror against double dealing, and make eulogiums of the contrary vertues, do visibly fight against double meaning words and answers; which makes the man who hears me, take up quite different notions from what I seem willing he shou'd conceive. Infine, these subtilties are new, and altogether unknown to the men of old. This is the sum, or precise account, of all that can be sayd against equivocations and mental reservations. Let us now see what is sayd to defend them.

And first, an infinit number of Divines and Canonists, who after much meditation upon this matter, cou'd not resolve absolutely to condemn their usage, do agree, that they are sensible of the force of these arguments; they wou'd yield to them with all their hearts, if they cou'd find out some other better secret, to avoid certain troubles and abundance of inconveniences, to which human society wou'd find it self expos'd, in case that equivocations and mental reservations were absolutely forbidden.

Besides that, they believe them founded upon

on the practice of Saints, on occasions, where-
in they are not condemn'd by the Scripture,
nor by the Ecclesiastical history, and where
they are often defended by other Saints. Let
us begin with these last articles.

Among several examples in the old Testa-
ment, I will content my self at present with
that of *Abraham*. This Patriarch, oblig'd by
famin to retire into *Ægypt*, was afraid lest the *Gen. 12*
King, or some of the Inhabitants of the coun-
try, charm'd with the beauty of *Sara*, shou'd
murder him, that they might marry her. To
avoid this danger he sayd to his Wife, the
Egyptians, seeing your beauty will say, this
Woman is that Mans Wife, and they will kill
me, that they may enjoy you: say therefore,
I conjure you, that you are my Sister. *Dicturi*
sunt Uxor ipsius est, & interficient me & te re-
servabunt; dic ergo, obsecro te, quod Soror mea sis.
The thing happen'd just as he had foreseen:
being therefore question'd upon the matter,
both answer'd directly as they had agreed, and
sav'd themselves by the equivocation of the
word *Sister*, which in that country had two
significations. *Abraham* found himself under
the same circumstances and trouble at *Geraris*
in *Palestine*, and there behav'd himself after the
same manner.

Isaac his Son, finding himself in the same
place, in the same kind of danger, on account
of *Rebecca* his Wife, acted just as *Abraham* had
done. *Cumque interrogaretur à viris loci illius Gen. 26.*
super uxore suâ, respondit, soror mea est. Timuerat
B b *enim*

enim confiteri quodd sibi esset sociata conjugio, reputans ne forè interficerent eum. The Son for this was neither punish'd, nor reprehended by God, no more than the Father: both of them did the same things, at the time that God promis'd them a numerous posterity: he also protects them in a miraculous manner on these very occasions, where to avoid death, they lay hold of means which are pretended to be so very unjust; and which must have been so, contrary to the respect and to the obedience we ow to the Master of our lives; so injurious to his goodness and to his power, upon which these holy men had so much reason to depend.

Saint *Austin*, far from accusing, in this, these two Saints, takes their part against a Reformer of his time, *Faustus* the *Manichean*. He maintains, that in this rencounter *Abraham* did not lye, altho he answer'd the question but by halves, and not at all, according to the thoughts and expectations of those that spoke to him: for, says he, *Abraham*, being ask'd, did not answer, that *Sara* was not his Wife; but they enquiring what relation she had to him, he answer'd, she was his Sister, but did not deny she was his Wife: he conceal'd the truth, but did not say any thing that was false. *Neque enim, utrum ejus uxor esset interrogatus, non esse respondit: sed cum ab eo quareretur, quid ei esset illa mulier, indicavit sororem, non negavit uxorem. Tacuit aliquid veri, non dixit aliquid falsi.*

Lib. 12.
cont.
Faust.
c. 33.

A little

A little after he defends *Isaac*, as he had before defended *Abraham*. *What evil had he done in all that*, sayd he, *since he did but imitate his Father? the same reasons defend him in the same kind of instance, wherein Abraham committed no sin.* The same holy Doctor speaks after the same manner, upon the same subject, in several places of his works. But let us come to the examples of some Christian Saints.

I will say nothing of the answer of Saint *Francis*, who being ask'd whether he had not seen a man pass by, who was pursued for murder, answer'd, putting his hand into his sleeve, *He did not pass this way*: perhaps that such nice men, as I have to do with, wou'd make little account of this, look upon it as an idle story, and give little credit to the writers who report it.

The example of Saint *Athanasius*, who flying upon the *Nile* escaped, by an answer like this, from the hands of those who were sent by *Julian* the Apostat to seise him, is too well known to need to be here particularly mention'd. I will tye my self to two others, which hitherto have been less spoken of: the one, is, of Saint *Paulinus*, the other of Saint *Fulgentius*, both great admirers of the doctrine of Saint *Austin*. Do's not that, joyn'd with the approbation, which this holy Doctor himself has given to the conduct of *Abraham* and *Isaac* in the instances I have brought down, make a very strong argument for the Divines, especially when they defend themselves against men,

who, every where, value themselves upon being the Disciples of Saint *Austin*?

Natal. 5. Saint *Paulinus* in a peece of Poëtry, which he compos'd in honor of Saint *Felix* of *Nola*, tells us, that this Saint, being upon the point of being arrested for a Christian by the heathens, who were in quest of him, God by his miraculous power hinder'd them from knowing of him; they ask'd himself, where they might find *Felix*. The Saint perceiving, by this enquiry, the succor sent him by Jesus Christ, and the miracle he wrought in his favor, answer'd them, laughing; I know not this *Felix* whom you seek for; which made them pass him by, and proceed.

*Persensit & ipse faventis
Consilium Christi, ridensque rogantibus infit:
Nescio Felicem quem quaritis. Illicet illi
Prætereunt ipsum.*

It is not to be doubted, but that, if *Felix* had told a ly upon this occasion, he would have made a very scurvy return to the kindness our blessed Savior shew'd: but if he did not tell a ly, what can we think, but that he had recourse to the equivocation of the name of *Felix*, or to some mental reservation? it seems otherwise impossible to save him from a ly.

Cap. 12. But a plainer and more express equivocation, is not to be met with, than that of Saint *Fulgentius*: it is in his life, written by the Deacon *Ferrand*, his Disciple, and dedicated to Bishop *Felician*,

Felician, this Saint's Successor in the Bishopric of *Ruspa*. This Deacon reports, that Saint *Fulgentius*, whilst a Monk, having suffer'd great persecution in *Africa*, took a resolution to go and visit the Solitarys or Hermits of *Ægypt*, of whom he had heard wonderful things: he took his way thro' *Sicily*, and landed at *Syracuse*; whereof Saint *Eulalius* was Bishop; but without quitting intirely his Monastic profession. The holy Prelat receiv'd *Fulgentius* into his Monastery, as he us'd to do other strangers, whom he treated with great hospitality. He discover'd in two conferences he had with him, the extraordinary merit of this passenger, and press'd him to tell him the causes that made him quit *Africa*.

Fulgentius, says the author of his life, apprehending he shou'd be guilty of vanity, if he shou'd acknowledge the motive that made him go into *Ægypt*, answer'd him in these terms, I am going to seek my parents, who I hear are travelling in that country: *Parentes meos requiro, quos illis in partibus vivere peregrinos audiui*. The Bishop, having some suspicion that he did not speak sincerely, and half diving into the sense of this ambiguous answer, learnt from another Monk, who those were whom *Fulgentius* meant by the word *parentes*; in so much that Saint *Fulgentius*, seeing himself discover'd, was oblig'd to confess the truth. But sayd the historian, he might truly call those his parents, whose examples he intended to imitate.

If that be not a full and formal equivocation,

there never was any ; for Saint *Fulgentius* seem'd to take the word *parentes* in it's ordinary signification, and yet really intended by it those, who were to be his Fathers in Christ; and he also gave to the word *peregrinos*, a sense as metaphorical as this was, understanding that those he spoke of were travellers upon earth, advancing or going on to the celestial country.

You see then, that Saint *Austin* approves the conduct of *Abraham* and *Isaac*, and that Saint *Paulinus* do's approve that of Saint *Felix*: you see also, what has been practis'd by Saint *Athanasius*, by Saint *Felix* himself and Saint *Fulgentius*, which seems manifestly to authorise equivocations and mental reservations: it appears to me, there needs little more to make a probable opinion in this matter.

But the Divines, whose doctrine I here explain, do believe they have yet something stronger to support it. They pretend, that the usage of reservations and equivocations cannot, in prudence be absolutely condemn'd, without having first seriously reflected upon certain places of the Gospel, where they seem to be practis'd.

What, say they, is this thing call'd equivocation? it is an ambiguous word, that has several significations, or a proposition compos'd of ambiguous or doubtful terms, which the speaker foresees ought to be taken by those, who hear it in another sense or meaning, than he himself understands it in; of which there are two plain examples in the Gospel.

In Saint *John* Cap. 11. the Son of God sayd
to

to his Disciples: Lazarus *our friend sleepeth, but I go that I may awake him out of sleep.* It is evident, that this is an equivocal proposition: it is also certain, that the Apostles took it in it's natural signification. Lord, sayd they, *if he sleeps, he shall do well.* It is also certain, that our Savior foresaw they wou'd take it so. *Jesus, sayd the Gospel, spake of his death, but they thought that he had spoken of taking rest in sleep.*

The second example, is taken out of the second chapter of the same Evangelist, where our Lord sayd to the Jews, *Destroy this Temple and I will build it up again in three days.* He spoke of his body, and the Jews thought, as naturally enuff they might, that he spoke of the Temple of Jerusalem. It is very well known, that our Savior had no ill intention in speaking after this manner; and that what he aim'd at, was not to deceive those he spoke to; but that signifies nothing; for say the Divines we condemn as a sin all equivocations, that may possibly wrong any other person whatsoever, and all those whereby the speakers have a design to deceive and surprize their hearers.

There are also found in the Gospel mental reservations, and that not made out by arguments or by consequences, but such as appear, to every reader, formal enuff and of themselves sufficiently evident.

In the seventh chapter of Saint John, The Brethren of Jesus sayd to him, *depart hence and go into Judea.* Our Savior answers: *Go yee up unto this feast; but as for me, I will not go.* Non

ascendam: having so sayd, adds the Evangelist, he abode still in Galilee; but when his Brethren were gone up, then went he also up unto the feast, not openly, but as it were in secret. *Non manifestè sed quasi in occulto*. This proposition, *Non ascendo ad diem festum istum*, consider'd precisely, according to the words, wou'd be false, but by adding to it this word *manifestè* which our Savior had in his mind, it becomes true.

I know what reflexions were made by the Cretics upon this passage, because of the variety of the Greek manuscripts; but I also know the invincible reasons by which it is prov'd, that the reading of our Vulgata in this place, is certainly the true reading. Here are also two other passages, wherewith I will end the proofs which these Divines believe they may draw from the authority of Scripture to confirm their opinion.

One is taken out of the thirteenth chapter of Saint Mark; where after our Savior had made his Disciples a description of the terrible things that shou'd happen at the day of Judgment, he adds, *But of that day and of that hour knoweth no man; no not the Angels which are in heaven, neither the Son; but the Father only*. We are notwithstanding, bound to believe, that the Son of God did really know that day; and from the beginning the *Agnoita* were accounted heretics, for saying, that our Lord did not know it; and the Greeks call'd them by that name, to shew, that their error consisted, partly in attributing this ignorance to the Son of God. The

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Arians would have made use of this passage against the Catholics; but the Fathers refuted them with all the zeal and strength that was possible.

This proposition, say the Divines, would then be false, if taken expressly according to the terms: *The Son of God knows neither the day nor the hour of the last Judgment.* It must needs follow by consequence, that the truth of this very proposition depends upon a sense, that our Savior gives to these words, and which is not express'd by the words themselves; that is to say, that in speaking them, he had besides a particular meaning, or understood something else, which was only in his own mind; and which therefore, conclude they, could be nothing but a mental reservation.

But that which is remarkable is, that the Fathers, and particularly Saint *Austin*, gives us, when he explains this passage, a form of mental reservations, exactly like that which the Divines propose. Our Lord, according to Saint *Austin* sayd, that he knew not, when the day of Judgment would be; not, that he was really ignorant of it, but because he knew it, not to discover, or, as may be sayd, to betray it, *ad In Fal. prodendum. Ipsi judicii occultum esse dictum est, non ad cognoscendum, sed ad prodendum.*

Let us here set down the example, which is commonly made use of, to explain what a mental reservation is; my Father's enemy is in quest of him to kill him, he asks me where he is? I make answer, that I do not know; this answer, is likewise false in it self, taking the terms

terms or words, precisely as they stand; but let us add to them, not by word of mouth, but only by thought, *ad prodendum*, that is to say, I do not know where he is to betray him, and then it becomes true, at least in the same manner, that Saint *Austin* finds our Savior's proposition true.

Infine, continue these Divines, the passage in the fifth chapter of the book of *Tobit*, appears inexplicable without an equivocation or a mental reservation; and one needs do no more than read it to be convinc'd of that. Old *Tobit* there demands of the Archangel *Raphaël*, whence are you? *Unde te habemus?* the Angel answers, *ex filiis Israël*, I am an *Israélite*. After several questions *Tobit* enquires again, *Of what Tribe, and what family I pray art thou?* The Angel answers, *do you not seek a guide for your Son? what signifies it to you, to know my family? but that you may be freed from all fear, I will tell you, that I am Azarias, ego sum Azarias Anania magni filius. Thou art,* reply'd *Tobit*, *of an illustrious stock or family.*

Mind how the Divines argue upon this place. In all these passages, where the propositions, taken according to the terms and their natural meaning, are not true, a man is oblig'd to acknowledge, that there is in them a *ly*, or an equivocation, or a mental reservation. One cannot, without blasphemy, acknowledge there is a *ly*; and therefore must admit, either an equivocation, or a mental reservation: and thus, neither an equivocation, nor a mental reservation, can in their own nature, be so ill,

as

as a ly, and one may, with some restrictions, or conditions, make use of them without sin.

These then are the authoritys and the difficultys, that at first made the Divines suspend their judgment of a thing, which the first idea made them reject; and which made them conclude after turning and tossing about this question, and considering it on all sides, as much as was possible, that equivocations and mental reservations cou'd not be lys, nor things in themselves absolutely ill; that there were conjunctures and occasions, wherein they were not at all criminal, and that they were of the nature of certain things, which ordinarily are bad, because of the circumstances, but which are not bad in themselves, and which only become ill, by being made use of, without necessity, and the lawful precautions. But, before I proceed to the other ground or reason, upon which the Divines build their doctrin in this matter, it is not amiss to see, what is sayd against it, by those who declare themselves for the contrary opinion.

A very able man, in a work where he has collected and heap'd up a great deal of learning, has found a place for a dissertation concerning equivocations and mental reservations, where he puts this proposition in the front of his discourse. *Mendacium omne lege divinâ vetitum est, adeoque & restrictiones mentales, qua sunt veri nominis mendacia.* Every ly is forbidden by the law of God; and by consequence, mental reservations, which are real lies. And in the remaining part of the dissertation, he speaks of equivocations, just as he had done before of reservations. He

P. Alex.
tom. 9.
P. 3. Sec.
4. dissert.
41. pag.
483.

He proves his position, by a number of passages, out of the Scripture and the Fathers; and infine he propounds many objections: among these objections are to be seen part of the difficulties which I have set down; there are others also, of which I have not spoken; but upon which I shall make some reflexions, by way of instance or replication, to the solutions by him given. Than which method, nothing can better shew the difficulty of the matter.

Father *Alexander* answers the *Priscillianists* very well, that *Abraham* did not ly neither in *Egypt*, nor in *Abimelech's* house; and he grounds his answer upon the authority of Saint *Jerom* and Saint *Austin*. But I wou'd gladly know, what answer he wou'd make, if a *Priscillianist*, in case there still were any, shou'd make him this reply?

You say, that equivocations and mental reservations are lyes; but it is impossible to excuse *Abraham* from lying on this occasion, without saying he made use of a mental reservation, or an equivocation; therefore according to your principles, it must be confess'd, that he told a ly: this *Priscillianist* might thus prove the minor of his syllogisme.

In the present question, we call a proposition equivocal, which has several senses or meanings; and which we foresee will be taken by the person to whom we speak, in another sense than that which we give it in our own mind, and which notwithstanding is the most natural; especially when we make such a proposition expressly and with intention, to hide from him the truth,

truth, which by his question he is desirous to know. These are the characters by which an equivocation appears most contrary to sincerity and comes nearest to a ly; but it is visible, that all this agrees perfectly, with the answer made by *Abraham* in the circumstances he was in, when ask'd whether *Sara* was his Wife; and he answer'd she was his Sister; he therefore, on this occasion, made use of a very formal equivocation.

But the way this Doctor maintain'd, according to Saint *Austin*, that *Jacob* did not ly, when he rob'd *Esau* of the blessing, design'd for him by *Isaac*, wou'd give the *Priscillianist* a yet much greater advantage. *Jacob* makes three propositions on this occasion, which can hardly be justified from being lyes. 1. His Father, who was blind, inquires of him, *Who are you my Son?* *Jacob* makes answer, *I am your first born.* *Ego sum primogenitus tuus Esau.* 2. He adds, *I have done as you commanded me. Feci sicut præcepisti mihi:* altho his Father had sayd nothing to him. 3. *Jacob* continues, *Eat of what I have hunted, my Father, comedite de venatione meâ:* altho he had not been a hunting, and that what he had prepar'd for him were two Kids, which his Mother had made him take out of the flock.

1. *Jacob* did not ly, in saying *I am Esau your first born Son*, sayd Father *Alexander*; for what reason? because *Esau* had before sold his birth right to *Jacob* for a mess of lentils; and so *Jacob* in this sense might call himself the elder. It must then be, says the *Priscillianist*, by virtue of the equivocation in the word *primogenitus*, or first

first born, that he do's not ly; but when he sayd *I am Esau. Ego sum Esau*, this word is not in it self equivocal, and not shewing as the word *primogenitus* the right of eldership, nor the birth time, he must needs in saying that, have made use of a mental reservation. I am *Esau*, not in person, but by way of representation; not in reality, but by virtue of my privilege.

2. For the second proposition, *Feci sicut praecepisti mihi*, I have done as you commanded me. Father *Alexander* says, "It is true, with respect to *Isaac's* first intention, altho it be not true with respect to another less principal intention. For in commanding his eldest Son to go a hunting, *Isaac's* chief intention was, to make him merit by this action his last blessing; but his less principal intention, was to give this order to *Esau*, whom he believ'd his eldest Son, being yet ignorant of the mystery and the design of God. So *Jacob*, having per-form'd his Fathers principal intention, sayd to him without a ly, I have done what you commanded me.

The *Priscillianist* might make a great many reflexions upon an explication so confus'd, and so strain'd as this is; but Father *Alexander* cou'd not, but confess and agree with him, that the shifts, the several windings and turnings, which they make *Jacob* take to secure his proposition from the falshood which appears in it, do, at least demonstrat, that if it be true, it is but with relation to some meaning, which he gives it in his own mind, and not in reference to the meaning,

meaning, which offers it self, and naturally arises from the words: it is easy to see, of what consequence this confession must be to the present subject.

3. "But as for these other words of *Jacob*, continues Father *Alexander*, *Comede de venatione mea*, "Eat of what I have hunted, they are altogether true, for *Jacob* had brought two Kids, which he had sought for and chosen from among the flock; and he understood by the word hunting or venison, the animals he himself had taken, and his Mother had dress'd.

Without making the *Priscillianist* argue any farther, I leave the reader to judge of these answers, and I will only say with all respect to the person who made them, that if I had undertaken, as he has done, to declare against equivocations and mental reservations, I wou'd, without ceremony, have abandon'd the opinion and explication of Saint *Austin*, *Theodoret*, and Saint *Gregory*, and wou'd with others have freely confess'd, that *Jacob* was guilty of several lyes: or, if I wou'd have follow'd the interpretations of these three Fathers, I wou'd have acknowledg'd, on this occasion, with many other Divines, that equivocations and mental reservations were not lyes. Whoever pitches on a middle way, will find it insupportable, not possible to be maintain'd; and every body must allow, that to joyn his answers with his assertion, is to say two things contradictory, to deny and to prove at the same time, that the usage of equivocations and mental reservations is lawful,

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It is the same thing as to the manner he takes to explain the Angel *Raphaël's* answer to *Tobit*. *Ex filijs Israël. I am of the Children of Israël.* "This is true, says Father *Alexander*, "because he came from the City of the Children of *Israël*, that is to say, of the faithful, "whom God has given him in charge: or because that *Israël* in Hebrew is the same thing "with God governing *Raphaël*, adds this "Father, sayd also truly, that he was *Azarias* "the Son of the great *Ananias*, because he had "taken the shape and figure of *Azarias*, who "was the Son of this *Ananias* besides in "Hebrew *Azarias* signifies the succor of God and "Ananias signifies the Grace of God. Moreover "the Angels are the Children of God, and "Raphaël being sent by God to succor *Tobit* in "several dangers he was like to fall into, and "being an Angel, he might truly say, *I am* "Azarias the Son of great *Ananias*. And thus Father *Alexander* explains this passage.

That all which was spoken by the Angel *Raphaël* on this occasion might be truly sayd, is not to be doubted, since it was an Angel that spoke in this manner; but that all this cou'd be truly sayd, without equivocations and mental reservations, is hard to be conceiv'd: for since these propositions are not suppos'd true, but by giving them another meaning, than that which naturally arises from them, and that they deceiv'd him to whom they were spoken, and cou'd not but deceive any body that shou'd hear them, they are not therefore true,

true, with respect to the words, of which they are compounded; but to make them true, something else must be added, which was only in the thought of the speaker, and by consequence, here is another argument for equivocation and mental reservation.

It is also fit to add the explication, which Father *Alexander* gives in another place, of that passage in *Saint Marc*, of which I have already spoken. I answer, says he, in the third place, that our Lord did not know the day of judgment for us, but for himself alone: that is to say, that he really knew it, but that he did not know it, to tell it us. *Respondeo 3^o Christum nescivisse diem judicij nobis non sibi. Id est, licet absolute sciverit, nescivit tamen illum ut nobis revelaret.* By all this, the Divines, forc'd by these difficulties, to have recourse to the usage of equivocations and mental reservations, for the explication of this matter, are confirm'd in their opinion, perceiving that those who oppose them, are themselves, at last, oblig'd to do the same thing.

A Religious man of another Order, contending also against equivocations in a work full of zeal, if you'll believe himself, but which if read, will be found full of bitterness and gaul, made use of another shift, or rather of other terms than those of Father *Alexander*, to free himself from the same difficulties and troubles. And particularly upon that passage in *Saint Marc*, he says, that our Savior did truly affirm, that he knew not the day of judgment, because

he sayd, that in *sensu preciso & formali*; in *a formal and precise sense*; he did not know it, sayd he, in *quantum erat purus homo*, in as much as he was a meer man.

Passing by this expression, which is altogether Nestorian, I wou'd be glad to know.

1. Whether the proposition, precisely taken, according to the terms or words, be not false; *The Son do's not know the day of Judgment.*
2. Whether it do's not become true, by these words, which express the formal and precise sense, *in as much as he was a pure man.*
3. Whether it be not true, that these words were in the Son of God's mind, and not in the proposition, when he made it. If all this be true, these words spoken in a precise sense which they do not express, make a clear and perfect mental reservation. For it must be remembered, that by a mental reservation we understand a proposition, which taken, according to the terms, is false, and which is not true, but with reference to other words which the speaker reserves in his own mind. But all this is here to be met with; all therefore, that this writer has done, is to change the name of *mental reservation* into that of *the formal and precise sense*. He argues much after the same manner upon the example of *Jacob*, upon that of the Angel *Raphaël*, and upon *Judith's* discourse to *Holofernes*.

But what is pleasant in all this is, that if once *the formal and precise sense* be admitted, instead of equivocation and mental reservation, and that it is allow'd not to be bad in it self, to make

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use of the formal sense or meaning, I may say of that, all that can be sayd of mental reservations and equivocations; and draw from thence, all the same conclusions, true or false. I will say, it is a peece of subtilty of the new morals, and that by favor of this formal and precise meaning, all manner of lyes shall be palliated. Every man may be consider'd under several qualifications, or according to the School language, has many formalities whereupon to ground a formal and precise meaning. For example, when I speak to a Merchant, I do not know whether he will answer me as he is a Merchant, or as an inhabitant of Paris, or as a Father, or as a man precisely: the formal and precise sense being, at least, as well able to secure us from lying as equivocation: I may be in doubt, whether he that speaks to me, do's not make use of it: *And by this means all civil commerce, is over-turn'd; there is no longer any thing in the world, but dissimulation and double dealing; and we can have no more confidence in any person.*

I do not pretend to make any comparison between this other writer and Father Alexander, either for capacity or probity. That man's ill conduct did honor to his opponents; he apostatis'd sometime after from his Order, and was afterwards arrested and made a close prisoner for other reasons than his mental reservations.

But I dare positively say, that Father Alexander's answers are no better than his: that the principles of the one, go as far, as those of the other; that if one may speak, after the same manner,

manner, that *Jacob* spoke to *Isaac*, without being guilty of any sin; if one may, without a ly, call *hunting* or *venison* two Kids presented to an old blind man; and say they came from hunting them down, because they took them out of the flock; assure him in formal terms, that he was the elder Brother, altho he were but the younger; say I am *Esau*, I have done what you commanded me, altho he had receiv'd no order from him, and that he was not *Esau*. I say, if all this was lawful for *Jacob*, and that he cou'd do it without a ly, and without sin, as Father *Alexander* teaches, because he gave to the word *elder* to *Esau* and to *hunting*, other significations than *Isaac* by his questions took them in, and which all men besides; give them I say, that this reason will produce the same consequences, with that of *the formal and precise meaning*; and that this principle being once layd down, it wou'd be very indifferent, whether they freed from lying and from sin, a man that shou'd now use the same conduct by vertue of *a formal and precise sense or meaning*, or by vertue of equivocations or mental reservations, or any other name Father *Alexander* shall be pleas'd to invent, to distinguish his own system from that of other Divines. I will not at present carry this reflexion farther, because the subject will again oblige me to do it in another place. We will now go on to the second foundation of the opinion, which holds it lawful, to make use of equivocations and mental reservations, in some conjunctures: and these are cases of conscience

science upon which the Divines consulted, found themselves under some difficulties and trouble; it will be enuff to propose three or four of them.

1. A man is intrusted with a secret of state, the discovery of which wou'd have no smaller consequences, than the ruin and destruction of the whole Kingdom, the profanation of the Churches and Altars, and the total overthrow of the true Religion; this person is interrogated by a spy, or by a traitor, whom he knows to be such, and that he is besides a cunning skillful knave, of a deep insight, and infinitely penetrating into things. The circumstances are such, that if he seems to hesitate, boggle, or elude him; in a word, if he do's not clearly, and positively say, *it is not so*, there needs no more, to make this traitor discover what he wou'd conceal. What shou'd a man thus catechis'd do? on one side, he may not ly, tho' the whole world were at stake; on the other, the charity and the fidelity he ow's his Prince and his country, will not allow him to expose them, by violating the secret to all the terrible evils wherewith he sees them threaten'd. What side is he to take? he wou'd willingly sacrifice his blood, and a thousand lives, rather than betray them; but this is not now the matter in hand.

2. A profligat, wicked, brutal, furious fellow, whose violence I am not in a condition to stave off, is in quest of my Father to kill him, of my Sister to dishonor her, of my Prince to give him up to his enemies. I am under the same circumstances and the same troubles in

this respect, that he was in I just now spoke of, to whom the state secret was intrusted: if I do not boldly say, *I know nothing of them, or the person you seek for is not here*, one of the three sought for must be lost; what is to be done?

3. A man discovers the secret crime of another; if he do's not retract, the fortune, the honor, and the life of the man he has defam'd is in danger: he go's to Confession; his Confessor tells him, that he cannot be absolv'd, if he do's not remedy the evil he has caus'd: but the penitent answers, what I have sayd, as secret as it is, is true, and if I shou'd recal my words, I shou'd be guilty of a new sin, because I shou'd tell a ly; what must he resolve?

4. Infine, nothing is more inviolable, than the secret of Sacramental Confession; let us suppose a Confessor, question'd about the sin of his penitent, in the same circumstance, or conjuncture, with those persons spoken of, in the two first cases; that a cunning man, if you will have it so, shou'd have made him say certain things without thinking of 'em, and which he believ'd indifferent; they are, notwithstanding, such, that being once spoken, they will give ground to suspect the penitent: if the Confessor interrogated about this matter, be at a stand, if he makes use of the general, and ordinary answers upon these occasions; if he do's not say plainly and positively, that he has not told him such a sin, he encreases the suspicion, and gives occasion to him, that set the snare, to pursue the matter. What shall the Confessor do in such a case? These

These cases then, I say, with many more of the like nature, and the difficulty there is in solving them otherwise, have made the greatest number of Divines say, that it is lawful, in some circumstances, to hide or disguise the truth by equivocation, when men wou'd have us speak it, who have no right to know it, and when it is our own, or our neighbor's interest that they shou'd not know it. Let us now look back and joyn to this the passages and examples in Scripture, of which I have spoken; the explanations the Fathers have given of them, the practice of many Saints, the opinion of some other Saints concerning this practice, and in fine, the manner of their answers, who accuse the Divines, that maintain it, which is such, that, at the same time, they roar and cry out lowdest against equivocations and mental reservations, they are notwithstanding, forc'd to come back to them, and reestablish, under other names, the things they had undertaken to abolish, and fall into the same inconveniences, supposing there be any, wherewith they reproach them. I say, *supposing there be any*, for the Divines, who have had recourse to these principles, for the pressing reasons I have mention'd; have taken care to prevent inconveniences, by the wise precautions they have prescrib'd or set down upon this subject: and this is that which now I must needs explain in a few words, to the end, men may have a full and perfect understanding of this whole matter.

The remaining part, of the Treatise of Equivocations and Mental Reservations.

THE same charity and the same equity, that mov'd the Jesuits adversaries to attribute to them the doctrine of probability, as their proper and peculiar doctrine, and which had it's birth in their Schools, have also made them answerable for the doctrine of equivocations and reservations. The falshood of this accusation, is a matter of fact, which might also be as easily made out, as that which relates to the doctrine of probability: but it is sufficient in general, to advance upon this point, that it can be readily shewn, that all the Jesuits have sayd upon this subject, always very different from what their enemies have made them speak, is not only grounded upon all the reasons, and all the authorities we have spoken of, but also upon the principles of the most famous and the most antient Lawyers, Canonists and Divines, of all the several Schools. Let only that be read, which was written by the eminent *Navarre* before any thing was publish'd by the Jesuit Divines, what was taught by the most renown'd Doctors of Saint *Thomas's* School, as Saint

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Antonin, Sylvester, Victoria, Medina, and above all, the famous Dominic Baines, and it will appear, that what I say is true.

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But without entering farther into the examination of this matter of fact, we must know, that the Divines, and others, who agree, that the usage of equivocations and reservations, is a thing lawful in certain conjunctures, and when there are sufficient reasons for it, are notwithstanding divided among themselves, about that, which makes the difference between a ly, and a mental reservation. I will explain this in the example of the penitents Confession and his Confessor.

All do unanimously agree, that a Confessor, interrogated, whether his penitent was guilty of such or such a sin, or had told it him in Confession (supposing him in such a circumstance, as that he cannot otherwise keep the secret of Confession) may in conscience answer, *I do not know that he has*; or, *he told me no such thing*; altho he had really told it him: and all agree, that then he did not ly. In this case it is demanded, what do's hinder it from being a ly, considering, that the answer taken according to it's terms is false, and contrary to the answerers own thoughts and knowledge.

Some pretend, that that which hinders this from being a ly, is precisely the reservation, which the Confessor has at that time in his mind, where he has this thought; he has not told me this sin, *in such a way, as that I may tell*

tell it again. This proposition, say they, is very true, and do's not contradict what I have sayd by word of mouth, which is one half on't. So there is no ly in this; for a ly consists in the opposition there is between the thoughts and the words.

Others say, that this is too great a subtilty: that altho the Confessor may really have such a thought yet, notwithstanding, if he had nothing else, his answer cou'd not but be a ly: but that which hinders it from being so, is, that the person to whom the Confessor makes this answer, *he told me no such thing*, might and ought in prudence to think, that the sense of his answer is this: *he did not tell me such a sin in a way that I cou'd tell it you.* The proposition he makes in saying, *he did not tell it me*, having then, morally speaking, this sense in respect to him who puts the question, as well as with respect to him who answers, is no ly. Whence it follows, that, as to the practice, it is the same thing, which way soever you take it; and that all the dispute between these Divines, is, but about this purely speculative question, to know, what precisely it is, which frees such an answer from being a ly.

What I say of the Confessor, ought, in proportion, to be applied to the case of an important secret; or to the case of a Judge, who shou'd not interrogate according to the forms of Law, or shou'd do it without jurisdiction: and to several other cases, upon which one might argue after the same manner.

The

The greater part of the Jesuit Divines, and among others, *Azor* and *Laiman* follow the second opinion, which, in reality, appears the more reasonable, the more natural, and the more conformable to simplicity: but which equally concerns the purity of Morals neither more nor less, but just as much as the other: of this opinion also, is *Malderus*, that learned Bishop of *Antwerp* in a work of his, upon this subject.

Father *Condren*, that holy, and wise General of the *Oratorians*, propounds an other system, not very unlike this: it is in a small writing of his, made upon the question of equivocation, at the entreaty of Cardinal *Richlieu*, and, in all appearance, upon occasion of the dispute, which then began to grow warm about this matter.

He first lays down three principles. "The first, says he, that a ly is a sin; the other, that we must keep the secret we are intrusted with, and that to betray it, is an infidelity, odious both to God and man. The third, that there are truths, the knowledge of which, is hurtful to our neighbor, and sometimes to the public, and sometimes to our selves, which charity obliges us not to publish, altho we shou'd be requir'd.

"We ought, continues he, to inform our selves of the means God has left us, to satisfy the obligations both of charity and fidelity, without falling into a ly. Since it is certain, that a man can never be oblig'd to sin, and that,

"that, in the ways of God, we have always
 "the means not to offend him, which we
 "ought carefully to seek after.

"The first means, is, to refuse to answer . . .
 "it is the most sincere, but not the most uni-
 "versal, and sometimes that wou'd be tacitly
 "to declare, what we ought to have hid.

"The second, is, to answer readily one
 "thing for another, as Saint *Athanasius* did
 "*Julian* the Emperors Soldiers, who sought to
 "take him. But this means is not universal,
 "no more than the first: since that, &c.

"The third, is, to conceal the truth, under
 "some figure, of which the most common are
 "hyperboles, ironies, amphibologies, ambigu-
 "ous or double meaning words, antiphrases,
 "or opposition of contraries, and equivocati-
 "ons: for the Doctors do agree, that there
 "is no sin in speaking figuratively, which must
 "be understood, when a man makes use of
 "the figures as he ought to do.

This prudent Director, reasons upon all this
 very wisely; and concludes, that this third
 way, is not universal, nor less defective than
 the others: that it is often usefess, that it
 seems opposit to simplicity, or single-hearted-
 ness, and that, in many circumstances, it
 wou'd be criminal.

After he had rejected all these expedients,
 which had been invented to avoid lying, he
 thus decides the question. "The whole diffi-
 "culty arises from mens confounding a ly with
 "a fiction, and their comprehending, under the
 "name

"name of this odious sin, all the appear-
 "ances that may be lawfully given, without
 "violating justice, charity, simplicity, or any
 "other vertue, and which, in many rencoun-
 "ters or accidents, are of obligation for con-
 "serving justice and the precept of charity,
 "which thus ordains

"The holy Scriptures are full of such fictions,
 "which we ought to reverence, and cannot
 "reprehend. But to the end no body shou'd
 "abuse this truth, some rules are to be observ'd.

"1. It is not lawful to feigne, or give appear-
 "ances to deceive any person, unless it be for his
 "good, or that one has a right to deceive him,
 "or for a lawful and innocent delight, or for some
 "other just reason for his good. Thus the
 "Archangel *Raphaël* feign'd himself to be of the
 "Tribe of *Nephthali*, and endeavor'd to perswade
 "*Tobit* even by words, by naming one *Ananias*
 "for his Father, altho there was no such thing.

"2. When Men have a right to de-
 "ceive; thus *Judith* abus'd *Holophernes* and slew
 "him: Thus *Jacob* made his Father believe,
 "that he was his first born, because he was
 "so by a right.

"3. When it is for recreation, in time
 "and place; for to make it just, it ought not
 "to be continual, but according to the necessity
 "one is in, and that the fiction is innocent.
 "There are many other subjects, which give
 "Men a right to feigne, wherein care must al-
 "ways be taken, that justice and charity be
 "not wounded, nor any other vertues.

Father

Father Condren, after this puts himself some objections. "To take away, says he, all the "the doubts that may arise, we must satisfactorily answer, or remove two principal "grounds, or arguments they have, who hold "that all fiction in words is a ly.

"The first is, the holy Scripture, which absolutely condemns lying; to which we ought "to answer, that the Scripture do's not call just "and reasonable fictions, of which we have "spoken, lyes; nor ever blames them: but only "such, as are unlawful, and ordinarily contrary "to justice, or charity, or some other vertue.

"The second is, that every man is bound "to speak truth to every man: which ought "to be understood, according to justice and "charity, and as far as he is capable and worthy to receive it, and that it do's neither our "selves, nor our neighbors any wrong: for otherwise it is as little lawful, to discover a hurtful truth to a Man, as to put a sword into a "mad-man's hand.

"There is, besides, a third argument: that "our words are the natural signs of our thoughts, "and that by consequence, it is a sin against "nature, when they are not conformable to "one another: it must be answer'd, that words "are the free and voluntary signs of our intentions, rather than of our thoughts, which "nature has given to man and submitted to "his will to be made use of according to right "reason.... a man has a right, and even an "obligation, to defend himself, his honor and
his

“his fortune, and all that belongs to his neighbor, by his words, as well as by his hands: “in the same manner, as he is prohibited, or “forbid to hurt by word, as well as by action, &c. This is the whole of Father *Condren's* doctrine, relating to the present subject, upon which these three reflexions may be made.

The first, that it clears and takes away an infinity of troubles, which occur in practice and the commerce of life, for by thus distinguishing feigning from lying, and reducing to lawful fiction all the propositions, and all the answers, which have, for their end, the security and assurance of the rights of justice, fidelity, and charity, a man is drawn out of, or freed from, pain, or trouble: and all the reasons and difficulties, for which men had recourse to equivocations and mental reservations, are quite remov'd and at an end.

For example, that a Confessor interrogated, about the sin of his penitent, a subject about the secret of his Prince, a Son about the place where his father, whom they would kill, is hid, may answer, that they know nothing of what is demanded; or may say, the direct contrary to what they know: their answer will not be a ly, but shall be reduc'd to a lawful fiction: and this fiction shall be lawful, or unlawful, according to the circumstances a man is in at the making of it; and pursuant to the obligation or right, which he may have, to manage the interest of justice, fidelity, and charity, either in regard of his neighbor, or himself.

But

But the second reflection, is, that this doctrin wou'd give our reformers as much occasion, at least, if not a great deal more, than the doctrin of reservations and equivocations, to cry out against the relaxation of Morals: for, on one side, this fiction do's authorise and justifie, all that is authorised and justified by equivocations and reservations; and that without being oblig'd to seek for any art or shift: and on the other side, as that which makes a fiction lawful, according to Father Condren, is the *right, and even the obligation a man has to defend himself, his honor, his fortune, and all that appertains to his neighbor*, without which he confesses, that it wou'd be a real ly: so likewise do's he acknowledge, and with truth, that those, who approve most of equivocations, do own, *That they ought not to be made use of without good cause, nor for every purpose.* " And that the too "great liberty of such a practice wou'd be "a meer illusion, and a kind of double dealing, odious to all men, of good sense and, "even insupportable, and contrary to right "reason, and very often to the equity and "justice we ow to one another, sometimes "to charity, and in a manner always to "Christian simplicity; that it wou'd destroy "public and privat faith, and even human "Society, and intirely ruin sincerity, if this "licence had not it's laws, to bound and regulate it's usage.

These are Father Condren's words, which are enuff

enuff to make the calumniators of so many learn'd and holy Divines blush for shame, if they have never so little left, but let that be how it will, it is evident, that, as for the practice, it wou'd be, at least, equal if not the same thing, which of the two systems be pitch'd upon.

Infine, the third reflexion is, that however easy, or useful, this hypothesis of fictions, grounded, upon the authority of a man, so wise, and so holy, may be; how reasonable soever it may appear; how ever proper it may be, for the explication of several facts and passages of Scripture; and in a word, how great soever a desire, men may have to follow it, for 'tis seeming conformity to good sense; yet notwithstanding, it answers but one part of the difficulty, and do's not at all, satisfy that, for which the Divines believ'd themselves bound to have recourse to equivocations and mental reservations.

The difficulty is, that according to Saint *Austin*, and after him, according to all Divines, the essence of a ly, consists in a mans speaking contrary to his thoughts: now this fiction, if one adds nothing more to it, do's not hinder a man from speaking contrary to his thoughts. For the Confessor, in saying his Penitent did not kill such, or such a Man, the Minister of state in affirming, that the King did not intend to besiege such or such a town, both the one and the other think, and know at the same time, the direct contrary of what they say.

It therefore seems, that a fiction wou'd be a perfect ly. For to take away this evil quality the Divines, grounding themselves upon the examples, authorities and important reasons we have seen, determin'd, or made choice of the system of equivocations, and mental reservations: nor have they otherwise given it a greater latitude, than Father *Condren* believ'd himself oblig'd to give his system of fiction: for they did not fail to restrain theirs, as he has done his, by exceptions, and by rules, which prevent all those inconveniences, not possible to be avoided, without these modifications or restrictions, whatever principles men lay down, or whatever side they take.

But the necessity of the system of equivocations, or of some other, which comes to the same thing for the practice, being suppos'd and demonstrated, this article of modifications, or manner of restraining it's usage, is essential for the justification of Divines, and to point out and make palpable the the exceeding malice of the author of the Provincial Letters.

To prove, that the Divines did not propose their doctrine but with these restrictions, there is no need to stuff this writing with an infinite number of plain formal passages, drawn out of their works, which I cou'd very easily do; it will be sufficient, that I may free the reader from the toyle of so troublesom a work, to repeat part of Father *Condren's* words, who had taken care to read exactly the Divines upon this matter, before he return'd an answer to the desires

desires of a Minister of state, so knowing in Divinity, and so clear sighted and judicious, as Cardinal Richlieu was.

“Thole, says Father Condren, who most approve of equivocations, do confess, that they ought not to be made use of without good cause, nor upon every occasion; and that the too great liberty of their usage, was an illusion, a meer cheat, and a kind of double dealing, odious to all men of good sense and even insupportable and contrary to right reason, and to the justice which we ow to one another, &c. Therefore without dwelling longer upon this matter of fact, let us come to *Pascal's* dishonesty and insincerity.

The exposition alone, which I have made, of the difficulties and importance of this question, as well as of the conduct of the Divines in their discussion or examination of it, sufficiently shew, how very frivolous the raileries of this writer are: but to understand how criminal they are, we must consider the manner, wherein he affects to propose this Doctrin.

Thomas Sanchez the Jesuit, who is, even at this day, for the canonical matters he has treated of, the Oracle of *Italy*, *Germany* and *Spain*, and of *England* also, is the Divine he has pitch'd upon, among others, to divert himself with upon the subject of equivocations and mental reservations. I will here content my self with comparing *Pascal's* translation with the text of this Divine, without much arguing, and with making only some short remarks upon it;

see how *Pascal* makes this pretended Jesuit speak, with whom, and at whose expence, he makes himself sport in his ninth Letter.

"I will now, sayd this good Father, acquaint you with the easie methods we have found out, for avoiding Sins in conversations and in the intrigues of the World.

Pascal, in this place, wou'd have the World believe, that they are obligd to the Jesuits for this fine secret of equivocations; and yet if he had read *Sanchez*, he wou'd have seen, that upon this article, he speaks according to the opinion of, almost all Doctors. *Ex fere omnium mente.*

Num. 15.

"One of the most troublesom things in this matter continues *Pascal's* Jesuit, is to avoid lying, and especially, when one wou'd have a thing that is false to be believ'd true.

What an admirable fellow is this *Pascal*? Especially, says he, *when a man wou'd have a false thing to be believ'd true.* But *Sanchez* says expressly, that it wou'd be a sin in any man, to equivocate with design to deceive his neighbor, and that when there is a just cause to make use of equivocations, the only end, a man ought to have, is to conceal a truth, which for important reasons ought not to be made known. *Quoties adest justa causa his usendi equivocationibus, animus utentis non debet esse ad fallendum proximum, sed ad occultandam veritatem quam non expedit revelare.* In so much, that if a man, making use of an equivocation, to hide, for example, a secret of state, or a sin told in Confession, shou'd

shou'd have any other end, or prospect, than, precisely that, and shou'd endeavor to deceive his neighbor, he wou'd commit a sin.

And here comes in the distinction and direction of intention, which Saint *Austin* himself teaches Divines, when in his book of *lying*, he says, that the malice of this sin, consists in the desire, which a man has to deceive.

Cap. 2.

Culpa mentientis est in enunciando animo suo fallendi cupiditas, and that there is a great deal of difference between lying, and hiding a truth.

For, says the Father: *altho every man that lyes, wou'd conceal the truth, yet notwithstanding, it is false to say, that every man that wou'd hide the truth do's ly.*

Non enim hoc est occultare veritatem quod est proferre mendacium; quamvis enim omnis qui mentitur, velit celare quod verum est, non tamen omnis qui vult celare quod verum est, mentitur.

L. cont.
mendac.
cap. 10.

Sanchez then, do's not allow, that a man shou'd make use of an equivocation, To make a false thing be believ'd true; but according to Saint *Austins* opinion, To conceal a truth, which for important reasons ought not to be made known.

These are his own proper terms: let us return to *Pascal*, who makes his Jesuit thus continue.

"For which purpose, to wit, to make a false thing be believ'd true, our doctrine of equivocations is of admirable use, by which as *Sanchez* says, it is lawful, for a man to make use of ambiguous words, or doubtful expressions, to have them understood in a different sense from that wherein he himself understands them.

By *Pascal's* good leave, *Sanchez* did not say, that this was lawful, he only sayd, that this was no ly, and he proves it very well. *Quoties verba sunt suâ significatione ambigua, pluresque sensus admittentia, nullum est mendacium ea proferre in sensu, quem proferens in illis vult & concipit.* But by the principles of *Sanchez*, there is a great deal of difference between these two propositions, that it is not a ly, and that it is not a sin: for altho it be not a ly, yet according to his opinion, it wou'd be a sin to equivocate without just reason. It is not at all lawful, sayd he, to make use of ambiguous, or double-meaning words, even of those which have this ambiguity in ordinary and common usage, at least, unless there be a lawful cause to give us a right to do it. And this is a rule, which he establishes expressly, to prevent the abuse of equivocations, because, sayd he, that the commerce of life requires the avoiding ambiguities. *Hoc enim victus communis hominum postulat.* Compare but these two texts. *Nullum est mendacium*, it is no ly. *Nullo modo licet uti verbis ambiguis nisi, &c.* it is by no means lawful to make use of doubtful words, except &c. With this translation of *Pascal*. It is lawful to make use of doubtful words, and tell me what sincerity there is in such a proceeding? it is, as if a Casuist had sayd in latin, that a man may without lying, discover the secret crime of his neighbor, but that it is not lawful to do it, but in some cases; and that *Pascal* shou'd make him say absolutely and without

Quarta
regula sit
&c.

without restriction, That it is lawful, and that a man may, without sin, reveal the secret crime of his neighbor.

This maxim, That it is lawful for a man to make use of ambiguous terms, that they may be understood in any other sense than he himself understands them: thus propounded in an indefinite manner, as *Pascal* proposes and attributes it to *Sanchez*, is false, and very much to be condemn'd: whereas being restrain'd, by the most wise rule, and the exceptions which I have related, it is a doctrine very common among Divines; and in practice, contains nothing contrary to publick good, nor more prejudicial to human Society, than all the other systems men are oblig'd to invent, to remedy the inconveniences to which a Man may be often expos'd, if he had no way to hide a truth. What difference is there then, between the opinion of *Sanchez*, and the idea *Pascal* has left of it in the minds of his readers?

This Divine treats of mental reservations with the same precautions he had set down in his doctrine of equivocations: and *Pascal* is again guilty of such an other falsification as I have already observ'd, when he makes him speak these following words. "A man may swear, he has not done a thing, altho' he had effectually done it, by understanding, or meaning that he had not done it on a certain day or, &c.

Sanchez, in this place, do's only teach with *Angelus*, *Sylvester* and *Navar* whom he quotes,

and with many others who were not Jesuits, not that a man might absolutely do it, but only, that he might, *Without a ly*, make use of these restrictions, when he has good and just reasons for it: and at the same time he proves, that without such reasons, it cannot be done without sin: *Althô it be not a ly*, says he numb. 16. *by which the negative precept, that forbids lying is violated, it is notwithstanding a sin of omission, against the affirmative precept, that commands us to speak truth: the common good of civil Society, obliging us to answer positively to the matter we are question'd about, unless he that is interrogated have a right, for some just cause, not to discover the truth in question.* But he proves, that, in such a case, a man may conceal it without a ly: and he proves it by the Scripture examples which I have lately mention'd, and of which Father *Condren* makes use, to establish his system of fiction: by the example of the Angel *Raphaël*, speaking to *Tobit*, by that of *Judith* to *Holofernes*, and by that of our Savior, who told his brethren, that he wou'd not go to *Jerusalem*, &c. to which *Sanchez* add's, that, even when there is a just cause of acting in this manner, if a man do's it with an intention, or prospect of deceiving his neighbor, he is guilty of the mortal sin of perjury. *Re bene inspectâ est mortale perjurium.*

The dishonesty and infidelity of the author of the Provincial Letters, is not only sufficiently seen by the little I have quoted

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out of *Sanchez*, but also, that one ought not to judge in this matter, of the doctrine of some Jesuits, and so many other Divines, by certain propositions, detach'd or drawn out from the text, on purpose: because he was sensible, that being thus separated from their restrictions, they had in them, something paradoxical, and shocking to those, who know not, or do not examin things to the bottom. How many were scandaliz'd at the doctrine of equivocations, because that these two propositions were confounded together: *An equivocation is not a ly*, and *an equivocation is not a sin*, and they were confounded upon the false prejudice taken up; that an equivocation cou'd not be a sin, but because it was a ly; and yet the first proposition, *That it is not a ly*, is at least, highly probable; and the second, *That it is not a sin*, is sometimes true, and sometimes false, according to the different circumstances, wherein an equivocation is made use of. It is almost the same thing in the case of mental reservations: for by distinguishing as I have done, the question in reference to pure speculation, and in reference to practice, there will hardly be any ground to differ, or argue farther upon the matter.

But how many People, for want of attention and reflexion, divided the names of pure morals, and loose morals upon this subject, between the opinions they believe opposit to one another, and which yet in the bottom

bottom are really the same? a Jesuit, out of his respect and adherence to the opinion of Saint *Austin*, frees *Jacob's* saying to *Isaac* from being a ly. *Ego sum primogenitus Esau. I am Esau your first born Son*, and the other things which follow: this is well enuff lik'd; but because he adds, that these words cannot be excus'd from being a ly, but by having recourse to equivocations and mental reservations, there needs no more to run down this Jesuit, and to publish him every where an abettor, or follower of loose Morals

And yet on the contrary, Father *Alexander* passes for orthodox, and a Divine of severe Morals: and for what reason? only because that in his dissertation he declares aloud against equivocations and mental reservations. But by thus declaring himself, how do's he save *Jacob* from lying? this is done, says he, in that by answering his Father, that he was *Esau*, not in person, but by a kind of representation; that he was the elder, not by birth, but by a right purchas'd with a mess of Lentils. Where, I pray, is the difference between Father *Alexander* and the Jesuit; unless it be, that the Jesuit gives things their proper names; that he calls a spade a spade; the most formal equivocations, equivocations; and the most manifest plain, mental reservations, mental reservations: and that Father *Alexander*, in attacking these equivocations and reservations, do's authorise them the most openly, that's possible, by only taking from them,

them, a name, against which it is the mode or fashion of the present age, to declaim with noise and vehemence?

But since they began to argue upon this question, which is pretended to be important to Morals, it is very strange and surprising, that among so many Persons, who have declar'd themselves against equivocations, there shou'd not be any one found, whose Zeal had produc'd a work, able to give satisfaction in the matter; wherein the true state of the question shou'd be fully propos'd, all the difficulties of the different hypothesis, explain'd and clear'd, all the disputes about words, avoided, the matter of pure speculation distinguish'd from that, which relates to practice, the reasons, on both sides in their full force impartially set down, in order to their being exactly weigh'd and consider'd; and infine, where nothing shou'd be done out of prejudice, nor by aversion to, nor obstinacy for, either party.

I dare not flatter my self, that my dissertation has all these qualities; but it may give occasion to a more able and more knowing person than I, to write one, wherein all may be found. I am, at least perswaded, that I have made a scheme, exact enuff, of this matter, and I think the whole may be reduc'd to this precise account.

1. An equivocation, is here call'd, a proposition, that has several senses, or meanings, and which he that speaks, understands in a sense,

sense, which he foresees his hearer will not take it in: and a mental reservation, is a proposition, which taken according to the words is false, and cannot be true, but by joyning to it some other thing, which is in the speakers thoughts, but not expos'd in the proposition. The question is, whether one may without lying, and without sin, make use of an equivocation; or mental reservation thus defin'd?

2. Not whether it may be done commonly and upon every occasion; all the World agrees, that it cannot: and that whenever Religion, Justice, or Charity are concern'd, they cannot be made use of without sin: and that even, when the interest of these capital virtues is secure, it cannot be done, without just and considerable reasons; that practice being contrary to Christian Simplicity, so long as an important reason do's not prevail, and take away from equivocation and reservation the character of double-dealing.

3. It must likewise be examin'd, whether the examples and passages of Scripture, which are usually propos'd in this matter, do not contain great difficulties.

4. whether in the explication of these passages, Saint *Austin* in particular, without mentioning other Fathers, did not make use of the Doctrin of equivocations and mental reservations: or at least, whether his exposition do's not suppose it.

5. What can be answer'd to the practice of

of Saint *Athanasius*, Saint *Fulgentius* and Saint *Felix* of *Nola*, &c.

6. Whether the Case of the Confessor, the state secret, the secret of natural affection and duty, and of a criminal interrogated by a Judge with jurisdiction, and such others, can be decided, without recuring to equivocations and reservations.

7. Whether being once suppos'd certain by the decision of these cases, and by the other reasons which support the system of equivocations, that they are not, as lyes, bad in their own nature; whether, I say, this being suppos'd, I may not make use of them, when I am concern'd, to keep a truth secret, which my neighbors interest or my own, when just and lawful, obliges me to conceal: and whether the rule, which Father *Condren* gives, in his system of fiction, may not take place in this of equivocations: *That a man has a right, and even an obligation, to defend himself, his honor and his fortune, and all that appertains to his neighbor, by his words, as well as by his hands.*

8. Infine, whether the different systems, upon this matter, do not come to one and the same thing as to practice; whether, that of the fiction, by Father *Condren*, or those of the figures, hyperboles, ironies, and of the *Formal and precise sense, or meaning*, are not subject to the same inconveniences, as that of equivocations, be not as susceptible of the same precautions and restrictions, as the others: and

and whether, really, the Divines, who maintain it, do not employ, or prescribe these precautions and restrictions: and whether, in comparing all these systems together, any other difference can be found, but that which consists in the terms or expressions.

I do at least, believe, that the exposition I have made, of the difficulties in this matter, and of the troubles the Divines find themselves in, whatever side they turn themselves to, will convince all persons of equity, that abundance of men, in the world, often speak confidently, of the things they least understand: and that, if a man shou'd ask many the sense and state of some certain questions, upon which they raily, or pronounce most positively, he wou'd very much confound them.

It was no small peece of skill, or cunning in *Pascal*, not to wade too far into matters; and to make things be look'd upon but on some sides, which were sure to have all the effect he design'd in the minds of his readers: men wou'd not have laugh'd nor seem'd delighted if he had discover'd the rest to them.

But do's not this artifice, and this superficial manner of handling the most difficult questions of Divinity, joyn'd to so many other prejudices, give a right to the Divines *Pascal* has attack'd, to make use of the words of Saint *Austin*, upon a like occasion? when the question is, sayd he, to clear the doctrine of some books, it is the greatest rashness and imprudence imaginable, to consult those, who for some certain causes, have

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have declar'd a mortal war against the authors of those books: *Nihil est profecto temeritatis plenius quàm librorum sententiam requirere ab his qui conditoribus illorum atque auctoribus acerbum, nescio qua cogente crusa, bellum indixerunt.* Aug. lib. de utilitate credendi. cap. 6.

And may they not also add, these other words, which the same Saint spoke to the *Manicheans* of his time: who to have the pleasure to ridicule, and inveigh against Catholics, attributed to 'em extravagant opinions? do no longer deceive your selves, sayd he to them . . . all the grave and eloquent invectives you make against such fooleries concern not us, those impertinent opinions which you attack, with equal vehemence, and childishness are not, at all, our opinions: those who upon account of these satyrs, go over and embrace your side, do not condemn our morals; but only discover their own ignorance, and demonstrate that they do not know what our doctrine is. *Definite errare* L. I. de moribus Eccl. Cathol. cap. X.
in his enim & in hujusmodi nugas graviter capiosè- que invehi soletis, quare nos invectio vestra non tangit; sed aniles quasdam vel etiam pueriles opiniones edinepitore, quò vehementiore oratione percellitis: qua quisquis movetur, & ad vos transit, non Ecclesiæ nostræ damnat disciplinam, sed eam se ignorare demonstrat.

Sperastis in calumnia, & tumultu, & innixi estis super eo.

You have put your trust in calumnies, and built your hopes upon the noise and tumult, wherewith you have spread and publish'd them. *Isaïa. 30.*

O V R holy Father Innocent XI, when, by his Decree of the second of March 1679, he condemn'd and prohibited to be taught several propositions, relating to Morals, did declare, that they are prohibited, sicut jacent, that is to say, taken according to the terms, or words, without reference to the author's books, from whence they might be drawn, whether they have, there, a good or an ill meaning. Whereupon the publisher of these Discourses thinks himself bound, to remark to the Reader; that, if in these, he has given a favorable interpretation to any one of those propositions, for example, to that of Valquez concerning Alms, it was never done, taking them as they ly, sicut jacent, couch'd, or express'd in words, but only with reference to the Divine's text, which qualifies them. On the contrary, he do's protest, out of the respect which he has for the holy See, that he do's condemn all those propositions, condemn'd, whatever the subject matter be; sicut jacent, according to the order and intention of our holy Father the Pope.



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